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INDIAN CULTURE

Vol. X, No. 1 (July September 1943)

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OPINIONS ON THE 'INDIAN CULTURE'

Dr. W. Stede.—The new magazine is a very admirable undertaking, embodying the best product of intellect of our Indian colleagues and fellow students. I cannot but pay the highest tribute of admiration to this new publication.

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Mons. Louis Finot.—... full of interesting matter and forebodes a bright future. My best congratulations for this success!

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Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society (Vol. IX, Part I, July, 1934).—This very admirable periodical will be welcomed all over the country by all those who are devoted to the promotion of research into the ancient history of India and her great culture. The excellent character of this new Journal and the high standard of articles published in it, and the enterprise and devotion of the group of the Bengali scholars seem to make *Indian Culture* rightly and completely fill the great void created by the unfortunate discontinuance of the great epoch-making Journal, the *Indian Antiquary*. This new Journal, three numbers of which are before us, shows itself to be first class scientific periodical by the richness of its contents. Like the *Indian Antiquary*, it is hoped that this Journal also will be an impartial forum to all devoted and inspiring workers under the capable editorship of the distinguished and veteran savant Dr. Devadatta Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, who is assisted by willing and brilliant scholars like Dr. Barua and Dr. Bimala Churn Law. We heartily congratulate the management of the Journal on the high standard of excellence that is attained and hope that by means of unsparring devotion it will be maintained. There is no doubt that its appearance is a valuable addition to the number of scholarly periodicals.

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THE COMMISSIONERS AT BITHUR (1818-51)

By PRATUL C. GUPTA

In 1818 the Maratha War came to an end. The Peshwa Baji Rao II was taken to Bithur where he lived as a pensioner of the British Government. A Commissioner was appointed, who was entrusted with the care of the ex-Peshwa and his adherents. During the period of thirty-two years Baji Rao lived at Bithur, there were four permanent officers holding this post. They were John Low, E. J. Johnson, William Cooke and James Manson. When the Commissioner went on leave or there was delay in appointing a new one, it was the practice to requisition the services of an officer from Cawnpore or sometimes the Magistrate of Cawnpore carried on the Commissioner's duties in addition to his own. Low, who accompanied the ex-Peshwa to Bithur, was appointed the first Commissioner. He worked till January 1822 and then went on leave for reasons of health. Captain Blacker officiated for about one year, and from the beginning of 1823 Captain Johnson succeeded him as the acting Commissioner. Low returned in September 1825, but was almost immediately transferred to Jaipur. Johnson continued as the acting Commissioner till 15th January, 1826, when he delivered over the charge to Grote, the Magistrate of Cawnpore.¹ Johnson again took charge on 3rd May and on the 20th June was appointed to the situation of the Commissioner. On 1st November, 1828, Johnson took leave for about a month.² It was considered unnecessary that the Magistrate of Cawnpore should be appointed formally as the acting Commissioner for such a short period, but was requested 'to afford his advice and assistance', if required by the ex-Peshwa during the Commissioner's absence.³ Johnson does not seem to have returned to Bithur, and on 15th January, 1829, Bacon the Magistrate also went on leave leaving the management of the Commissioner's office to Oldfield, the Judge of Cawnpore.⁴ These temporary arrangements did not prove very successful. The Peshwa's Dewan, Ramchandra Pant, pressed the Government for the nomination of a successor to Johnson and Oldfield also wrote to the Political Department on 31st January that he was 'quite unable to attend in person' at Bithur, and that the duties of the

¹ Pol. Pro., 7 April, 1826 (46), Imperial Record Department.

² Pol. Pro., 26 May, 1826 (35) and 7 July, 1826 (40).

³ Pol. Pro., 3 Oct., 1828 (16). ⁴ Pol. Pro., 26 Dec., 1828 (35), (36).

Commissioner could not be conducted properly unless the Commissioner resided 'at the spot'.¹ Bacon's return put an end to Oldfield's difficulties. In June 1829 Bacon was transferred from Cawnpore, and on 3rd June the charge of the Commissioner was taken up by his successor Irwin.² On 16th January, 1830, William Percy Cooke was appointed as Commissioner but he died in July next year.³ Thompson, the Magistrate of Cawnpore, took over the charge for a few days. From 6th August, 1831, Major Faithful officiated as the Commissioner till the appointment of Manson in November 1831. Manson was the fourth and the last Commissioner. He continued till Baji Rao's death in 1851, when the office was abolished.⁴

The Commissioner maintained a modest establishment. In the earlier days there was an Assistant Commissioner. John Low's brother William Low acted as his assistant till 1820. He was then succeeded by Captain Blacker. When Low was transferred the post of the Assistant Commissioner seems to have been abolished. The Commissioner's staff consisted of an English writer, a treasurer and Maratha Pandit and a Munshi for Persian correspondence. It is interesting to note that the English writer's post in 1829 was held by a Bengali named Nabakishen Mitra.⁵ He was one of those English-speaking Bengalis who in those days followed the progress of the Company's arms in Northern India. Nabakishen's career, however, would not read very edifying. Taking advantage of Irwin's inexperience, he embezzled one thousand rupees from the Commissioner's office and fled. He was subsequently arrested and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment by the Commissioner of Circuit.⁶ Four other writers are mentioned in the record of the Commissioners. Their names and their scale of pay suggest that they were Eurasians. In 1824 the post was occupied by Dacosta.⁷ During Cooke's period of service one Mosely was appointed as the writer. But on account of some malpractices he was forced to resign.⁸ The Commissioner did not seem to have any luck with his writers. MacCarty who was probably the next choice also proved unfortunate. He was implicated in an intrigue for establishing clandestine intercourse with Baji Rao's agent and consequently was

¹ Pol. Pro., 25 Sept., 1829 (48).

² Pol. Pro., 1 May, 1829 (53) and Pol. Pro., 19 June, 1829 (79).

³ Pol. Pro., 29 January, 1830 (41) and Pol. Pro., 29 July, 1830 (III).

⁴ Pol. Pro., 2 September, 1831 (123) and Pol. Pro., 18 Nov., 1831 (85).

⁵ Pol. Pro., 3 Dec., 1832 (114).

⁶ Pol. Pro., 19 Feb., 1830 (53) and Pol. Cons., 3 Dec., 1832 (115).

⁷ Pol. Pro., 7 May, 1824 (36).

⁸ Pol. PrG., 23 May, 1836 (159).

dismissed from service.¹ Martindell, who was the English writer at the time of Baji Rao's death, was highly spoken of by the Commissioner. He had worked there for more than eight years, and when the Commissioner's office was abolished, he was given a job in the Magistrate's office at Cawnpore.²

In the earlier days there was a medical officer attached to the Commissioner's office. But in 1828 he was removed³ probably for economic reasons and there was no proper medical establishment at Bithur. In October 1828, the Governor-General decided, as a temporary measure, the Civil Surgeon at Cawnpore should 'afford medical assistance' to the Commissioner and his establishment as far as might be 'practicable consisting with his other duties'. He was granted an allowance of one hundred rupees a month.⁴

It seems that a practice had grown up of regarding the Civil Surgeon as the medical officer 'of Maharajah Bajee Rao's Camp' also.⁵ But the Governor-General disliked this practice, and the Commissioner was informed that the Government did not 'profess to furnish medical assistance, gratuitously, to the Maharajah and his followers, and that if desirous of obtaining the advice and attendance of a medical officer, they must make their own arrangements'.⁶ In 1830 an application was made to the Governor-General for the 'entertainment of a native doctor for the guard and establishment attached to the Commissioner'.⁷ A 'native doctor' was appointed, but in 1837 he got himself implicated in a plot to poison the Commissioner and Baji Rao's Dewan Ramchandra.⁸

The Commissioner's means of protection were two Rissalas of irregular horse and a party of sepoys. The duties of the mounted escort consisted chiefly in escorting the treasure required for payment to Baji Rao every month, and in 'furnishing several small guards about the camp'. In 1823, after some discussion, the Government decided that 'it would not be expedient to make any reduction of the strength of that party'.⁹ But next year the Government changed its mind and one of the Rissalas was ordered to return to its headquarter.¹⁰ Five years later the remaining Rissala of irregular horse was withdrawn.¹¹ As this step had been taken probably solely on financial grounds no arrangement was made 'to replace them with any other troops', but the Commis-

¹ Pol. Pro., 4 April, 1838 (82).

² For. Cons., 3 Oct., 1851 (?), (9), and Pol. Cons., 3 Oct., 1851 (8).

³ Pol. Pro., 18 July, 1828 (44).

⁴ Pol. Pro., 17 Oct., 1828 (42).

⁵ Pol. Pro., 5 March, 1830 (84).

⁶ Pol. Pro., 5 March, 1830 (85).

⁷ Pol. Pro., 16 April, 1830 (115).

⁸ Pol. Pro., 4 April, 1838 (82).

⁹ Pol. Pro., 4 July, 1823 (45).

¹⁰ Pol. Pro., 7 May, 1824 (35).

¹¹ Pol. Pro., 24 July, 1829 (36).

sioner was directed to inform the Government should any difficulty arise out of it.¹ The withdrawal of the horse proved very inconvenient, and the Commissioner was compelled to request 'the favour of a few sowers from Baji Rao' for attending on him on ceremonial occasions and for bringing the dawkh from Cawnpore.² In February 1830, Cooke prayed for a 'small party of horse' to be posted at Bithur in addition to the company of infantry.³ The same request was repeated by Major Faithful next year when he applied for a party of thirty irregular horse.⁴ In 1833 Major Manson made the prayer and considered that 'a party of 25/30 irregular horse would at all times' be useful at Bithur.⁵ Apart from the inconvenience, it was pointed out by the Commissioners that Baji Rao might impute a 'personal disrespect involved in the removal of the horse for a period of upwards of ten years'⁶; and that in the case of any disturbance he had 'not a single horseman on whose fidelity he could depend'.⁷ The Governor-General, however, saw no reason to provide a mounted escort at Bithur. He considered that Baji Rao's own troops should be deemed sufficient for his own protection and that it lay in the Commissioner's power to 'recommend His Highness to employ persons' whom he could trust.⁸

The Commissioner's establishment did not cost the Government much. But during Lord Bentinck's financial reforms drastic cuts were made and the salary of the staff reduced. The Commissioner's salary and military pay were clipped off and a saving was made to the amount of Rs.689-4as. every month.⁹ When Manson succeeded Cooke in 1831 he was receiving only one thousand rupees as his monthly salary.¹⁰ On being asked if the office of the treasurer might be abolished or if any reduction in the establishment might be made, Johnson, who was then the Commissioner, replied that he could not 'reduce it to any considerable extent without compromising in some degree its efficiency' and prayed that he might be allowed to retain the post of the treasurer. The Commissioner explained that he was almost hourly 'receiving written communications not only from the Maharajah, but from his adherents', and the treasurer and Pandit was the only person who could 'read, write and speak the Maratha language'.¹¹ An arrangement was finally arrived at. The joint office of the treasurer and Maratha

¹ Pol. Pro., 24 July, 1829 (37).

² *Ibid.*

³ Pol. Pro., 21 Nov., 1833 (103).

⁴ Pol. Pro., 21 Nov., 1833 (103).

⁵ Pol. Pro., 19 April, 1843 (163).

⁶ Pol. Pro., 27 June, 1828 (96), (97) and Pol. Pro., 1 Aug., 1828 (43).

⁷ Pol. Pro., 5 March, 1830 (64).

⁸ Pol. Pro., 9 Dec., 1831 (41).

⁹ Pol. Pro., 9 Dec., 1831 (40).

¹⁰ Pol. Pro., 21 Nov., 1833 (104).

¹¹ Pol. Pro., 26 May, 1849 (52).

Pandit with its monthly salary of Rs.200 was abolished, but the same person was retained as the Maratha Pandit on a salary of one hundred rupees a month. The Governor-General felt that there was 'no sufficient occasion for the services of a Persian Munshi at Rupees Forty per mensem', and consequently the post was ordered to be abolished.¹ Ten rupees were deducted from the pay of the Jamadar of the harkara and six harkaras with a pay of six rupees each were struck off.² In all, a monthly saving of eight hundred and thirty-five rupees and four annas was effected. In 1843 further retrenchments were projected. But the Commissioner replied that it did not appear to him 'feasible to effect any further reduction', after the revision it underwent during Lord Bentinck's administration.³ So no further reduction appears to have been made. On the other hand, the post of the Munshi probably abolished in 1828 was revived during Manson's term of office. At the time of Baji Rao's death there was one Munshi Ashik Ali attached to the Commissioner's office, and used to draw a salary of forty rupees a month.⁴

It was the Commissioner's chief duty to keep watch over the ex-Peshwa, but he was also expected to look after the welfare of the numerous Marathas at Bithur with as little interference as possible. The first Commissioner appointed at Bithur was a very happy choice. Low had a way with, and he managed to soothe the feelings of Baji Rao and successfully tided over the most difficult period of Baji Rao's life in retirement. It probably took a long time to be reconciled to his change of fortune, but Low's sympathy and tact helped a great deal. A man with less imagination would have found a more difficult and stubborn Peshwa to deal with. In spite of conflicting interests a bond of friendship grew up between the two. A few years after Low had left Bithur he saw Baji Rao again. 'He even shed tears.' Low wrote about this meeting to his mother, and 'when taking leave he prayed the Supreme Being to make me a Bramin in the next change in this world', so that he should 'in due time be absorbed in the Deity'.⁵ One reads with amusement how Baji Rao's show of affection sometimes caused a great deal of embarrassment to the Commissioners. According to the regulations of the Government all presents offered to the Commissioners were not to be retained by them but passed to the credit of the Company. Baji Rao insisted in 1825 that he would present a Khilat worth four or five

¹ Pol. Pro., 1 Aug., 1828 (44).

² Pol. Pro., 19 April, 1843 (163).

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Pol. Pro., 3 Oct., 1851 (8).

⁵ Low, *Fifty Years with John Company*, p. 1.

thousand rupees to 'Captain Low as a private friend' which he was 'to keep as his own property'. Low was then about to proceed to Jaipur. As a way out of the difficulty he suggested that the acting Commissioner should defer 'announcing the refusal of the Government', until he should be permanently appointed at Jaipur.¹ When Dewan Ramchandra also was 'extremely desirous' that Low should accept a token of friendship from him, Low 'settled' it by exchanging his gold watch for that of the Dewan.² Similar attempt was made to present a Khilat to Major Blacker.³ It was Cooke who was prevailed upon to keep some presents from Ramchandra pending the reply of the Government, and was rebuked by the Governor-General for his conduct.⁴ As a token of friendship of the British Government a practice had grown up of making small present to Baji Rao's servants on the occasion of the principal festivals of the year. A memorandum of the year 1827 gives the following table:—

			Rs.
Tilsankranti	..	..	75
Vasant Panchami	..	..	50
Holi	..	..	90
Dussera	..	..	95
Dewali	..	..	80
Christmas	..	..	175

In all, five hundred and sixty-five rupees were spent annually.⁵ During Lord Bentinck's administration these expenses were considered unnecessary, and the Commissioner was informed that there was 'no sufficient reason for continuing' this practice.⁶

Did Baji Rao ever give up all hopes of restoration? It is difficult to answer. But in the course of his stay at Bithur his fetters appeared less irksome to him and he became less dangerous to the British. During Baji Rao's stay at Bithur many attempts to free the ex-Peshwa or transmit messages from Bithur to the South are reported. In the earlier period they were made by the people of Maharashtra, but later on one notices a change. People other than the Marathas also tried their hands in intrigues. It was not easy for the Commissioner to find out what their real objects were. Many of them were designing and dishonest persons traded on the credulousness of Baji Rao's mind. To the end of his life Baji Rao cherished a strong desire to see Maharashtra once

¹ Foreign Miscellaneous letter dated 29 Oct., 1825, pages 5-14.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Pol. Pro., March 1830. Pol. Pro., April 1830 (55).

⁵ Pol. Cons., 12 Oct., 1827 (43).

⁶ Pol. Cons., 12 Oct., 1827 (44).

again; and on one occasion expressed a hope that he might be taken back to Poona and allowed to stay on the same condition as the Emperor in Delhi.

The truth is that Baji Rao had lived too long. One wonders how Malcolm would have felt when he was arguing with the Governor-General for a liberal pension on the Peshwa had he known that he would survive another thirty-three years. The former Peshwa would lose his glamour some day. He was a prize captive in 1818, but in 1850 he was a man of little importance. The Commissioners found him at times somewhat difficult. Baji Rao had no scruple in asking for little favours, but on occasions when he probably felt that his importance was being diminished insisted on being treated as still the Chief of the Marathas. He put the Government into embarrassment by offering to send Khilat to his friends and relations from Bithur. When Lord Bentinck wrote to him in 1831 he wanted to be addressed as the Pant Pradhan.¹ He was anxious to meet Lord Auckland during his tour in upper provinces, but on such terms as if he was 'still seated on the gaddce at Poona'. The Government did not see their way to grant his requests, and the Dewan was informed that 'such a proposal was quite out of the question'.² It is a significant fact that after Low and Blacker other Commissioners were no longer brilliant men. The Government perhaps took little trouble in selecting an officer for the post. The ex-Peshwa as well as the Commissioners were losing importance. The Commissioners after Blacker are completely forgotten by posterity.

¹ Pol. Pro., 29 April, 1831 (52).

² Pol. Pro., 4 April, 1838 (82).

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1

SOVEREIGNTY IN EARLY MUŚLIM INDIA (1210-36 A.D.)

By S. K. BANERJEE

During the last year of his reign, Sultān Qutbuddīn Aibak had stayed in Lahore and he died there from an accident in early November, 1210 A.D. Ārām Shāh, his reputed son, was present there. The nobles of Lahore felt whether Ārām was actually Qutbuddīn Aibak's son or no, he was their best refuge for the preservation of tranquillity in the kingdom; so they proclaimed him king under the title of Sultān Ārām Shāh. The much-hoped-for tranquillity was preserved in Lahore but some of the other parts of the empire, Bengal and Sindh in particular declared independence under Hisānuddīn Iwaz and Nāsiruddīn Qabacha respectively. The first few weeks of the new reign did not inspire much confidence and most of the nobles of Delhi, who had not relished the late change of capital from Delhi to Lahore, agreed with the most important person of the State, Ali Ismail, who held the double posts of the Commander-in-Chief and Lord Chief Justice (*Amīr-i-dād*), invited Iltutmish from Badāūn. Iltutmish hurried from his fief, reached Delhi and was enthroned as Sultān Shams-udduniyawaddīn Iltutmish Abul Muzaffar.

Since Ārām Shāh yet lived, for the moment there were two Sultāns in the same kingdom. The inhabitants of Delhi were not wholly united in Iltutmish's cause and some of the dissenters gave Ārām Shāh the news of Iltutmish's enthronement. Ārām Shāh hurried eastward. The Muizī and Qutbī nobles from the province out of regard for their late Sultān Qutbuddīn, proceeded to render aid to Ārām Shāh and probably if the number of soldiers on either side be considered, Ārām Shāh had a larger army. A big battle took place in the vicinity of Delhi in which Iltutmish's ability enabled him to win a complete victory. Ārām Shāh was defeated, captured and done away with.

Iltutmish was a self-made man and had risen from the ranks.

Iltutmish's birth and education.

It is true that he was nobly born and that his father, Īlam Khān, was the chief of the Ilbarī tribe of Turkistan; but a misfortune had befallen him in his childhood; for when young he became an object of envy to his brethren owing to 'his comeliness, intelligence and goodness to a degree'. They sold him to a merchant of Bokhārā who in his turn sold him to a kinsman of the Sadr Jahān of the place. While he stayed with the family, 'the most beneficent of

that family used to nourish him in the hall of his kindness, like his own children in infancy'. It may be presumed the Sadr Jahān's kinsman had given Iltutmish the liberal education as he had done with his own children; for Minhāj writes about Iltutmish,

دران ایام تر لَبِچِه قابلتر ازو بغزینن نرسیده بود *

Translation—

In those days a Turkī lad abler than him (Iltutmish) had not reached Ghaznīn.

When he was finally sold to Qutbuddīn, the latter, 'discerning within him proofs of rectitude and integrity both in movements and at rest, outwardly as well as inwardly, by the light thereof, advanced him from one position to another until he raised him to the office of *Amīr-i-Shikār*'. Subsequently he became successively governor of Gwalior, Baran and Badāūn.

Before proceeding with Iltutmish as a sovereign, we may consider the reasons that led to Iltutmish's success against Ārām Shāh. Firstly, Iltutmish's fame as soldier had helped him. Years ago, when Muhammad Ghuri was defeated at the battle of Andkhūi in 1205 A.D., the Khokars rose in the Punjab, Qutbuddīn hurried to his master's succour and with Qutbuddīn was his slave with his Badāūn contingent. The conflict has been thus described by Minhāj-i-Sirāj :

در وقت هیجا و هنگام غذا سلطان شمس الدین طاب ثره بابر گستوان
در میان آب جیلم که آن جماعت بدان پناه ساخته بودند در راند و مبارزت بسیار نمود
بزخم تیر کفار را منهدم گردانید در اثنای آن جلادت و جهاد نظر سلطان
معز الدین بران آثار شهامت و مبارزت افتاد - از حال او استطلاع فرمود
چون رای هایون او را روشن گشت که او را طلب فرمود و به تشریف خاص مشرف
گردانید و سلطان قطب الدین را فرمان داد که التمش را نیکوداری که از وی
کاری خواهد آمد و بفرمود تا خط عتیق او در تحریر آوردند و بنظر پادشاهانه او را
ملحوظ گردانید و بدولت احرارس رسانید *

Translation—

In the thick of the conflict, Shamsuddin (and his followers) drove their heavily armoured horses into the river Jhelum, wherein

the enemy had taken shelter and with their bows and arrows were routing the enemy While engaged in these feats of valour, Sultān Muizuddin's eye fell on him, his contest and proofs of courage. He made enquiries of him and then sent for him and honoured him with a special robe of honour and ordered Qutbuddin to treat him well; for he observed, 'good deeds will come of him'. So that by the king's orders, the letter of his manumission was written, he was treated with royal benignity and was granted the felicity of freedom.

Secondly, as an administrator also, Iltutmish's record had been satisfactory. As governor of Badāun he had been engaged in satisfying the spiritual and material needs of his subjects. He had built an Idgāh with a brick wall 302' in length and a large tank known as the Hauz-i-Shamsi. Both the works exist today. These benefactions had made him popular with the inhabitants of the province.

Iltutmish as an administrator.

Against Iltutmish, Ārām Shāh's was an unknown name. Even if it be accepted that he was Qutbuddin's son¹ we have no other fact to his credit. Farishta emphasizes his inability and says that at first even the nobles of Delhi had accepted him as their king but because of his inability he did not rule for a full year and in this short period Sindh and Bengal had become independent and the various Hindu Rājās of the Delhi kingdom had raised the heads of disturbance. The Delhi nobles now regretted their previous decision and collecting now under Ali Ismail and Amir Dāūd Dailamī sent word to Iltutmish to come and occupy Delhi.² From Farishta it is evident that the nobles of Delhi who had agreed to the accession of Ārām Shāh soon found out the new Sultān's incapacity and in the interest of the kingdom they proposed a change, viz. the substitution of Iltutmish for Ārām Shāh. They hoped that Iltutmish would succeed in arresting the break-up of the newly-formed kingdom, suppress the rebel Rājās and restore Bengal and Sindh to the old Delhi kingdom. It may be mentioned that the results justified these hopes.

To sum up: in those difficult times Ārām Shāh did not prove equal to the occasion and so his deposition was determined upon by the same set of people that had raised him to the throne. They

¹ The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* of Nizāmuddin Ahmad has

امرا و ارکان دولت بحکم درست آرام شاه را که بنیاد از و پس نداشت بر صحت لاہور جلوس فرمود .

The nobles and the other pillars of the State in accordance with the proper orders placed on the throne at Lahore Ārām Shāh besides whom Qutbuddin had no son.

² See *Farishta*, Nawal Kishore Press edition, p. 64.

next offered the throne to Iltutmish who possessed the requisite qualifications of leadership, viz. liberal education and satisfactory record as soldier and administrator. He was also like a son to Qutbuddīn and had actually married his daughter. If Minhāj is to be credited, 'Qutbuddīn had contemplated Shamsuddīn's acquiring dominion', a circumlocutory way of foretelling his future kingship.

On his accession to the throne in the latter half of 1211 A.D., he removed the capital of the kingdom from Lahore to Delhi mostly to keep himself at a distance from Tājuddīn Yildiz and Nāsiruddīn Qabācha, his elders and independent rulers of Ghaznī and Sindh respectively. With the former he entered into a treaty by which he accepted from Tājuddīn an umbrella and the royal mace and thus obtained a recognition of his position from a neighbour.¹ This alliance was highly advantageous to the new king, for he had yet to face the seditious Muizī and Qutbī nobles in his own kingdom. Nāsiruddīn Qabācha who had been loyal to the Delhi ruler in Qutbuddīn's time now refused to acknowledge Iltutmish's claims to the throne of Delhi and the result was a long-drawn contest between the two.

First of all, Iltutmish reckoned with the refractory Muizī and Qutbī nobles. Minhāj's words may be quoted :

الشمس خود را سلطان شمس الدین خطاب کرد و در سنه سبع و ستانه بر تخت نشست اکثر ملوک و اسرا مبالغت نمودند الا بعضی امرای معزی و قطبی که از اطراف دهلی طغیان نموده جمع آمدند و عصیان ورزیدند اما چون چراغ دولت او از نور تأیید الهی روشنی پذیرفته بود مخالفان نادان را در اطفاء آن نور سعی نمودن جز خذلان فائده نداد و همه آنها علف تیغ بیدریغ شده ساحت سلطنتش را از خشن و خاشاک وجود خود را پاک ساختند *

Translation—

Iltutmish called himself Sultān Shamsuddīn and in 607 A.H. (= 1210-1 A.D.) sat on the throne, most of the Qutbī maliks and amīrs strove (in his cause), but a few of the Muizī and Qutbī nobles of the districts surrounding Delhi had rebelled and gathered to-

¹ Minhāj's words are :

• بعد از آن سلطان تاج الدین یلدر از لاهور و غزنین با او عهد بست و او را پسر و درویش فرستاد

See p. 370, *Bibliotheca Indica Series*.

gether, but as Iltutmish's lamp of felicity was lit by the heavenly light, the dissentient in trying to put out the light met with nothing but failure and disappointment. All of them became the fodder for the sword; and the plains of the kingdom were cleansed of their existence.

The reason of the rebellion of the Muizī and Qutbī nobles is clear. The Muizī nobles being the nobles from the days of Muizud-dīn Ghurī thought themselves senior and hence superior to Iltutmish and the Qutbī nobles thought themselves equal to him. With the defeat of these rebellious nobles, Iltutmish strengthened his position on the throne of Delhi by controlling the administration of the neighbouring districts. In Minhāj's words¹:

اطراف ممالک و مضافات حضرت دهلی و بداون و اودھ و بنارس و سواک

تمام در ضبط آمد *

Translation--

The different parts of the kingdom and the suburbs of Delhi and the districts of Badāūn, Oudh, Benares and Siwalik came under his control.

Next his differences arose with Tājuddīn Yildiz. Tājuddīn had ruled for a decade or so in Ghaznī and Kirman and had meant to be a friend to Iltutmish and his friendship, as we have seen above, had enabled the latter to overcome the opposition of the Muizī and Qutbī nobles. But now a misfortune befell Yildiz. Jalāluddīn Mangbarnī, the ruler of Khwarizm, had a long war with Chinghiz Khan in which he was at last defeated. So flying before him, he went with his followers to Ghaznī, drove away Yildiz and occupied it himself. Yildiz went to Lahore, held at this moment by one of Qabācha's officers, drove him away and occupied it himself. Iltutmish might have abstained from any interference, for he had met with plenty of good-will from Yildiz and none whatever from Qabācha. But he saw that his own safety was involved and Yildiz might wage a war some day with him for the throne of Delhi. So Iltutmish sent a strong force for the throne of Delhi. Iltutmish also made a strong protest against Yildiz's aggression and when his protests went in vain, attacked and defeated him at the battle of Tarāorī, January, 1216 A.D. Yildiz was captured in the battle, publicly paraded in the streets of Delhi and taken to Badāūn, where he was secretly done away with.

¹ T.N., p. 171, ll. 2-3.

After Iltutmish's return to Delhi, Qabācha hoped that with Yildiz's death, the Sultān of Delhi would allow the previous state of affairs to return and so hoping that Iltutmish would not object to his action, occupied Lahore. But Iltutmish had noticed Qabācha's hostile attitude towards him at the time of his accession and now that he had increased his strength by consolidating his kingdom, would not agree. A war followed in which Iltutmish was victorious. He recovered Lahore and the Upper Punjab. Qabācha for the present remained in possession of the Lower Punjab, Sindh and Multan. But the same cause that had overwhelmed Yildiz, viz. Jalāluddīn Mangbarni now crushed him. Jalāluddīn drove Qabācha from his territories and for the next three years, 1221-4 A.D., ruled in his place. In 1224 Jalāluddīn of his own accord vacated his Indian kingdom and Qabācha again recovered his territories. For the next two years Qabācha was left undisturbed in his territories and he might have continued for a longer period, had not his son, Alāuddīn Bahrām Shāh, given provocation to Iltutmish by attacking his kingdom. The result was another war which ended with the defeat and death of Qabācha and the annexation of all his territories up to the very sea-shore in Sindh to the Delhi kingdom.

In Bengal too, Iltutmish scored a success. The Bengal governor, Hisāmuddīn Iwaz Husain, on his appointment in 1211 A.D. had acknowledged the suzerainty of the Delhi Sultān and had continued in his submission till 1220-1.¹ He assumed independence in 1222 A.D.² and assumed many high-sounding titles in imitation of the Sultāns of Delhi. He called himself السلطان الاعظم, Sultan the Great; السلطان المعظم, Sultan the honoured; ناصر امير المؤمنين وولى عهده علا الحق الدين, Aid to the Prince of the faithful and his successor, the Lamp of the law and the faith; قسيم امير المؤمنين, Coparcener with the Prince of the faithful, معز الدنيا و الدين, the Strengthen of the world and the faith; ابو المظفر or ابو الفتح, Father of victory; غياث الدنيا و الدين, Aid of the world and the faith; السلطان السلاطين, the King of the kings. But Ghiyāsuddīn's high-sounding titles did not signify much; for when Iltutmish invaded Bengal in 1225 A.D., he did not resist for long. Peace was signed.

درمیان ایشان بصلح قرار افتاد و سی و هشت زنجیر پیل و هشتاد ملک

مکان بسته خطبه بنام سلطان کرد *

¹ See H. N. Weight: The Sultans of Delhi, their Coinage and Metrology, p. 16, Nos. 49 H, I, J.

² See his coin in the Catalogue of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, p. 145, No. 1.

Translation--

A treaty was signed between them. Thirty-eight elephants and eighty lacs treasure were bestowed, and *khutbah* was read in Sultān Iltutmish's name.

But Ghiyāsuddīn's submission was not sincere, for as soon as Iltutmish turned his back to the east, Ghiyāsuddīn invaded Bihār now included in the Delhi kingdom and molested Iltutmish's officials. Iltutmish at that moment was engaged elsewhere and so could not come himself; but his eldest son Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd, the governor of Oudh, first went to Bihār, reconquered it and then passed on to Bengal, defeated and killed Ghiyāsuddīn in 1227 A.D. Iltutmish now annexed Bengal to the Delhi kingdom and appointed the victor, Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd, its governor. Nāsiruddīn had won over the hearts of the *ulema* and the pious men of Delhi by his munificence and now in Bengal too achieved distinction by introducing a beneficent administration.

Two years later, in February, 1229 A.D., arrived an envoy from the Abbasid Khalifa of Baghidād bringing a confirmation of regal title and several *khilats* for Iltutmish. The Sultān announced the honour in several ways: one, by issuing coins bearing solely the name of the Khalifa and not his own. One such has been noticed both by Thomas¹ and Nelson Wright.² The coin may be described here.

Obverse.

kalima

Reverse.

في عهد الامام
المستنصر امير
المومنين

margin ضرب هـ مايه

Translation—

In the time of the Imam, Al-mustansir, the Prince of the faithful. Struck in hundred . . . Hijra.

Al-mustansir ruled from 623-40 A.H. = 1226-42 A.D. The only other king of Delhi that issued similar coins was Muḥammad Tughluq.

¹ The Chronicles, p. 46.

² S.D.C.M., p. 71.

Secondly, in honour of this recognition, Iltutmish completed the Qutb *minār* at Delhi and the *Arhāi-din-ka-jhompra* masjid at Ajmer and extended the *Quwwat-ul-Islām masjid* at Delhi and dug the *Hanz-i-Shamsī* at Delhi. The Qutb *minār* and Arhāi-din-ka-jhompra masjid are not dated but the dates are obtained from internal evidences.¹ The Quwwat-ul-Islām is dated. On the left pillar of the south central arch is inscribed

في سهور سنة سبع عشرين و سبائة

'in the months of the year 627 A.H. = 1229-30 A.D.'

The Hanz-i-Shamsī is assigned by tradition to the year 627 A.H. = 1229-30 A.D.² All these were constructed in celebration of the occasion.

Thirdly, he introduced additions or changes in his regal titles as seen in his inscriptions. One is that instead of Muizuddīn's or Ghiyāsuddīn's title سلطان السلاطين, Sultān-us-Salātīn, or سلطان الاعظم, Sultān-ul-Āzam, or سلطان المعظم, Sultān-ul-Muazzam, Iltutmish called himself سلطان الشرق, the king of the east, or سلطان ملك الشرق,³ the king of the kings of the east. By these titles Iltutmish desired to signify that his sphere of action was confined to the east as against the *Khalīfa* of the day whose jurisdiction lay in the west. Second is that he changed السلطان to السلاطین. So long he used to call himself السلاطین, the slave of the king Qutbuddīn. Now he calls himself السلطان, the king. Third is that in place of the former phrase, مفخر ملوك العرب و المعجم, the boast of the kings of the Arabs and the Persians, he now uses for himself the title مولى ملوك الترك و المعجم, the master of the kings of the Turks and the Persians. The new phrase announced, on the one hand, his dignity and prestige as compared to the insignificance of the petty kings of Turkistān and Persia and on the other, his amicable relations with the Arab *Khalīfa*.

It is clear that by now Iltutmish had stabilized his throne. His fame had spread far and wide and the Muslim world had recognized his greatness. But the Sultān was not content; he desired to further strengthen his hold on the country by the recognition of his eldest son, Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd as the heir apparent and so presented one of the *khilats* sent by the *Khalīfa* to him. Iltutmish's intentions

¹ See *Epigraphica Indo-Moslemica*, 19.

² See Sir Syed's *Āsār-us-Sanādīd*, p. 23.

³ It should really be السلطان السلاطين الشرق. The two phrases occur in the minarets of the *Arhāi-din-ka-jhompra* mosque.

with regard to Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd are clear from Minhāj's statement :

همگنان را از ملوک و اکابر ممالک هند نظر بدو بود که وارث مملکت

شمسی او باشد *

Translation—

All people from the Maliks and nobles of Hind downwards looked upon him as the heir to the Shamsi kingdom.¹

But Nāsiruddīn's death in April, 1229 A.D., frustrated Iltutmish's plan of succession and Bengal was again in ferment. The late Sultān Ghīyāsuddīn's son, Daulat Shah Balka rose against Iltutmish's new governor of Bengal. What he desired for was not an independent kingdom for himself but only the governorship of Bengal under Iltutmish. This is clear from his coins. One of them issued in 629 A.H. = 1231-2 A.D. has the following inscription:—

Obverse.

المستنصر بالله
امير المؤمنين
الاعظم شمس الدنيا و الدين
ابوالفتح ايلتتمش السلطان
برهان امير المؤمنين

Translation—

Al-Mustansir, the Prince of the faithful by the grace of God. Sultān the great Shamsuduniyā wād dīn Abul Fath Iltutmish, the Sultān who demonstrates (the suzerainty) of the Prince of the faithful.

Reverse.

السلطان
العاذل شهنشاه باذل
علا الدنيا و الدين ابو الغازی
دولت شاه بن مودود
عضد خليفه الله
ظهير امير المؤمنين

Margin

... شهر سنه تسع و عشرين و ستائة

Translation—

The Sultān the just, the Shatinshah the munificent, Ataud-duniyā wād dīn Abul Ghazi Daulat Shāh bin Maudud, the arm of the *Khālifa* of God, supporter of the Prince of the faithful.

(In the) months of the year 629 A.H.

¹ N.N., p. 181.

It will be seen that the name of the *Khalīfa* is mentioned and he is called the Prince of the faithful; also Iltutmish is called the Sultān-i-Āzam showing that he was superior to Daulat Shāh; Iltutmish is also called *برهان امیر المومنین*, the proof of the Prince of the faithful. Daulat Shāh bin Maudūd is only entitled Sultān the just and Shahinshah the munificent.

But Daulat Shāh was not granted the governorship. Iltutmish went to Bengal in 1231 A.D., defeated and captured Daulat Shāh and appointed one of his own nobles, Alāuddīn Jānī, governor of the province.

Now that Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd was dead, the king had to choose his heir-apparent from among his remaining children. He had appointed his second son, Ruknuddīn Firūz, governor of Badāun in 1227-8 A.D., and since the death of Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd was looked upon by the nobles as the likely choice of the king. But the expectations were not fulfilled; for though after the capture of Gwalior, December, 1232 A.D., Firūz was given the important sief of Lahore, Iltutmish chose as the heir-apparent his eldest daughter, Sultān Razia. This was an audacious pronouncement and surprised even the obsequious *Mushrif-i-mumālīk*, Taj-ul-mulk, who was transcribing the order, but Iltutmish justified his choice on the basis of his daughter's capabilities and the worthlessness of his sons and in order to give her experience of administration made her governor of Gwalior. The absence of protest on the part of his nobles shows the grasp he had on his nobles. Though surprised at the astounding announcement, they remained quiet. Iltutmish may have been led to this decision by the persuasion of his chief queen, Turkan Khatun, Razia's mother.

Iltutmish is also credited with the establishment of the Shamsi order of the forty nobles. Originally, the nobles were purchased as slaves but by degrees they purchased their freedom and rose to be the most weighty personages in the State, so much so that in time they superseded the Maliks of the old order and others of noble birth. Ziauddīn Baranī has described the Shamsi order in the following words:—

در عمر بادشاهی ایشان بندگان ترک ایشان را چهلگانی میگفتند بر امور ملکی
مستولی شدند و با قوت و شوکت گشتند ملوک احرار و معارف اشراف که پیش تخت
شمسی نامور و معبر بودند از میان برداشتند *¹

Translation —

In his reign, the (chief) slaves of his were called (of the order) of the forty. They gained ascendancy in the State matters and became powerful and dignified chiefs and gradually superseded those high-born Malikis and other distinguished personages who prior to Iltutmish's reign bore fame and distinction.

The *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* has given a description of twenty-five of his Malikis, most of whom he had purchased himself originally as slaves. These slaves were men of exceptional ability and very often men of comely appearance. After the purchase, they were generally given minor offices, e.g. *sar-jān-dār* (chief armour-bearer), *chāsh-nīgir* (controller of the kitchen), *sāqī-i-ḵhās* (personal cup-bearer), *yūz-bān* (keeper of the hunting leopard), *sharāb-dār* (store-keeper of the liquors), *tašlūt-dār* (ewer-bearer), *jāma-dār* (keeper of the wardrobe); sometimes they were given the charges of a more important kind, e.g. *amīr-i-majlis* (lord of the assembly), *shahna-i-bahr-okištihā* (superintendent of rivers and vessels), *barbandagī-i-pēsh-i-takht* (with an office before the throne). Later on, almost every one of them was a governor of an important province like Lahore, Multān, Nagore, Badāfūn, Oudh, etc. This creation of a set of trained administrators was Iltutmish's greatest achievement. The record of the administrators may be read in the pages of Minhāj's history, where it will be seen that by their loyalty, service and administrative experience, they had made themselves indispensable to the king. They were, so to say, the pillars of the State and for some time after their master's death, continued to do good service in one capacity or the other.

Iltutmish's court was also thronged by many of the exiled princes who had lost their territories in the
 The exiled princes in Delhi. Mughal upheaval that took place under Changhiz Khan. These princes lent dignity to Iltutmish's throne and spread his fame throughout the Muslim world. Ziauddin Barani says¹:

در عهد سلطان شمس الدین از خوف و نکال چنگیز خان ملعون مغل ملوک
 و اسرای نامدار که سالها سری و سروری کرده بودند و وزرا و معارف بسیار بدرگاه
 سلطان شمس الدین پیوستند و از وجود آنچنان ملوک که نوادر ملوک بودند و از
 خمور آنچنان وزرا و معارف که در شرف و حریت و اصالت و فضایل و هنرمندی

¹ P. 27.

و خردمندى در ربع مسكون نظير خود نداشتند درگاه سلطان شمس الدين درگاه محمودى
و سنجرى شده بود *

Translation—

In Sultān Shamsuddīn's reign, owing to the accursed Chānghiz Khan, the Mongol's fear and tyranny, the illustrious Maliks and amīrs, who for ages had acted as leaders and also many ministers and other celebrities had thronged to his court. Those Maliks, who were the rarest of their kind and those ministers and other celebrities who in dignity, frankness, integrity, virtues, skill, and wisdom had no equal in the whole world, made Shamsuddīn Iltutmish's court look like that of Mahmūd or Sanjar.

Thus we may justly conclude that Iltutmish was the most magnificent Muslim monarch of his age.

One or two other measures of the king may also be mentioned. We all know that Iltutmish had reformed the currency. In fact he is supposed to be the first Muslim king of India who had issued silver coins. In Nelson Wright's words, 'Iltutmish was a great moneyer. That he established the silver *tankah* and the billon *jital* on a firm footing was in itself a remarkable achievement. The influence of this silver *tankah* may be said to have continued down to the present day. His incorporation of the indigenous 32-*rahi* weight standard into his currency scheme was a skilful move which made for both popularity and permanence.'¹ But he may also be remembered for the recognition of the local coinage, only insisting on the insertion of his name as the suzerain. For an illustration, see Thomas's *Chronicles*, page 70, the coins Nos. 39 and 40. The first coin shows the local rājā, Chāhar Dēv, as an independent sovereign and the second shows him as a rājā subordinate to Iltutmish. The inscriptions of the two coins may be shown here :

	Obverse.	Reverse.
No. 39.	horseman	bull
	औ चाहड़ देव	असावरौ औ समन्त देव
No. 40.	horseman	bull
	औ चाहड़ देव	असावरौ औ समसोरल देवे

¹ Wright: *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultāns of Delhi*, p. 71.

It will be seen that Iltutmish had freely used the Hindi characters and symbols like bull or horseman. Even the name of the *Khalīfa* Al-Mustansir Billah occurs in Hindi along with the symbol of bull.¹ It is a striking example of his breadth of views and of his efforts to conciliate his Hindi subjects. Also the two *Hauz-i-Shamsi*s dug by him, one at Badā'in and the other at Delhi, must have earned gratitude for him of his Hindu subjects, who along with his Muslim subjects had profited by them.

Let us sum up our conclusions :

- (1) Iltutmish's kingship was the choice of the nobles and he was expected to stop the disintegration of the kingdom that had set in in Ārām Shāh's reign.

Conclusion.

The expectation was fulfilled by the recovery of Sindh and Bengal.

- (2) He well-knit the kingdom by disposing of his rivals, Yildiz and Qabācha, and crushing the disobedient Hindu or Muslim chiefs. Amongst the latter he made no distinction between the Muizī or Qutbī nobles and those who possessed no such distinction.

- (3) He was a generous as well as stern ruler. In Bengal, at first he had allowed Ghiyāsuddīn to escape destruction by the payment of tribute. When he persisted in his opposition, he was annihilated and his territory was annexed. When Ghiyāsuddīn's son, Daulat Shāh, rose again pleading only for a governorship under Iltutmish's suzerainty, Iltutmish paid no heed to his pleadings and killed him.

- (4) Towards the Hindus also his policy was marked by a mixture of firmness and conciliation. He subdued many of them in North India and Malwa but allowed their chiefs a local importance on condition of acknowledgment of his suzerainty. Similarly he recognized the Hindu practices by imitating their decorations in his buildings or their symbols on coins.

- (5) His greatest achievement was the establishment of the Shamsi order of the forty nobles. These forty nobles formed the cream of his civil and military services and supplied him with administrators. He hoped that they would continue to be useful even after his death.

- (6) His kingship was recognized by the *Khalīfa*, who was in theory the head of the Muslim world. Out of deference to the *Khalīfa* he called himself the Sultān of the east. But the petty Persian and Turki princes he mostly ignored—nay, even challenged by assuming the title, 'the Master of the kings of Persia and Turkistān'.

¹ See Thomas's *Chronicles*, p. 52, No. 28b.

MINÜCHIHIRI

By M. ISHAQUE

1. Doulat Shāh in his *Tazkireh* has given the sobriquet 'Shast-Kuleh' to Minūchihirī and subsequent writers following him have also affixed it to his name. But this sobriquet has nothing to do with him. It rather belongs to another poet Shamsuddīn Aḥmad b. Minūchihr of whom we find no mention in any other work save and except in *Rāhat-uṣ-Ṣudūr Wa Āyat-us-Surūr* by Najimuddīn Abī Bakr Moḥammad b. 'Alī Rāwandī wherein his name has been mentioned as *Amīr-u'sh-Shuarā Wa Ṣafīr-u'l Kobarā Shamsuddīn Aḥmad b. Minūchihr Shast-Kuleh*.¹ From his writing it is well established that this poet was a contemporary of the author of this history and Syed Ḥasan of Ghazna, a famous poet of the sixth century A.H. Hence Shamsuddīn Aḥmad b. Minūchihr Shast-Kuleh was a poet of the sixth century and he lived more than a century after Minūchihirī, the poet under discussion, and that he was living during the rule of the Seljuk Sultan Tughril b. Arsalan (571-590 A.H.). The author of this book met him in 580 A.H.² Excepting the following three distichs, which are contained in that book, nothing else is extant:—

صبح بی روی تو نفس نزنند نفس عشق بی تو کس نزنند
وصل تو نگذرد بکوی امید تا در خانه هوس نزنند
بنده گریبا تو یک نفس بنشست جز برآن یار یک نفس نزنند

Hence it is quite clear that the sobriquet 'Shast-Kuleh' which belongs to Shamsuddīn Aḥmad b. Minūchihr, a poet of the sixth century and a contemporary of Ḥasan of Ghazna, has been erroneously given to Minūchihirī, a poet of the fifth century, by Doulat Shāh and his followers. The cause of this error is quite obvious. The name of Minūchihirī was Aḥmad and the name of the other poet was Aḥmad b. Minūchihr. This close similarity in the names of the two poets led to the confusion.

2. Whether Minūchihirī has eulogized Maḥmūd of Ghazna is another disputed point. 'Awfi quotes the following lines and is

¹ Gibb Memorial Series, pp. 57 and 58.

² *Ibid.*

of opinion that the *qaṣīda* in which these lines occur was written in praise of Sultan Maḥmūd:—

قیصر شرابدار تو چپال پاسبان پیغو رکابدار تو فغفور پرده دار
اندر حجاز بزم نئی در عراق رزم اندر عرب مظالم و اندر عجم شکار

In the Teheran edition also the *qaṣīda* containing these lines is in praise of Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna. There is nothing, however, in the *qaṣīda* itself to warrant the view that it was written in praise of Sultan Maḥmūd. On the contrary, the following lines make it clear beyond any doubt that the *qaṣīda* was not written in praise of the Sultan. Doulat Shāh and subsequent writers following him are also of opinion that Minūchihirī was a panegyrist to Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna. It is, however, a well-established fact that Minūchihirī was not one amongst the poets of the court of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, because at first Minūchihirī was attached to the court of Amīr Minūchihir b. Kabus Washmgir, the ruler of Gurjān and Tabaristan and son-in-law of Sultan Maḥmūd, and so long Sultan Maḥmūd was alive he was very courteous to his son-in-law; but soon after the Sultan died, the despotic attitude of his son Mas'ūd caused the breach of amity between these two houses and it was during this time that Minūchihirī went over to the court of Ghazna as he himself says:

دانی که من مقیم بر در گه شهنشہ تا بازگشت سلطان از لاله زار ساری

and because the *qaṣīda* containing the above verse is in praise of Sultan Mas'ūd, the word Sultan in the above extract refers to Mas'ūd of Ghazna and the tour of Sultan Mas'ūd, to which the poet refers, took place during the years 426-427 A.H.¹ During these two years Sultan Mas'ūd, after getting himself firmly established, made a tour of Mazandrān when Minūchihir b. Kābūs had already died and Amīr Dārā, son of Kābūs, better known as Amīr-i-Kālanjar, was on the throne. Sultan Mas'ūd and the said Amīr were on good terms till this time. Before this the poet had never been to the Ghaznavid court; so it is not possible at all that he might have composed any panegyric on Maḥmūd and, accordingly, we find no panegyric on Sultan Maḥmūd in his *Diwan*. Thus, the view that Minūchihirī 'wrote any panegyric on Sultan Maḥmūd is erroneous'.

3. That Minūchihirī has written any panegyric on Sultan Muhammad is also erroneous. The author of *Majma-ul-Fusaha* gives an account of 'Unṣuri introducing the poet to Muhammad b. Maḥmūd

¹ Vide *Tarikh-i-Baihaqi*, Teheran edition, p. 456f.

of Ghazna, and it is said that the poet enjoyed the honour and privilege of a Tarkhani in the court of Sultan Muhammad. This is also not correct, because after the death of his father in 421 A.H. (1030 A.D.), Muhammad ruled for only eight months when Mas'ūd dethroned and blinded him and kept him in prison. After the death of Sultan Mas'ūd in 432 A.H. (1040 A.D.) Muhammad was again brought back to the throne but only after three months was put to death by Sultan Maudūd b. Mas'ūd. At this time Minūchihirī was no longer alive. Also Minūchihirī never came from Gurjān and Tabaristan to Ghazna previous to the rule of Mas'ūd and no panegyric on Sultan Muhammad is contained in the Diwan of the poet: so it is not possible that Minūchihirī ever wrote any panegyric on Muhammad. This view also finds support from the following lines of the poet himself which occur in one of his panegyrics on Mas'ūd:—

تا من درین دیارم مدح کسی نه گفتم جز آفرین و مدحت ز آن شاه و حق گذاری
جز بر در شهنشه بر در گهی نه رفتم نه بر در حجازی نه بر در بخاری

4. That Minūchihirī sang the praise of Ahmad b. Hasan Maimandi is also quite incorrect. Minūchihirī in one of the qaṣīdas says:—

این طربنای و چالای او هست کنون از موافق شدن دولت با بوالحسن

Again, in some other place he says:—

ای بَدَل ذوالیزن بوالحسن بن حسن فاعل فعل حسن صاحب دو کف راد

Kazimirski, who edited the Diwan of Minūchihirī, erroneously considers that Abul Hasan referred to in the verses quoted above must be Ahmad b. Hasan Maimandi Mas'ūd.¹ His mistake is probably due to the fact that in Habib-us-Siyar the Kuniyet of Ahmad b. Hasan Maimandi is erroneously mentioned as Abul Hasan. All other historians and contemporary poets are unanimous that the Kuniyet of Ahmad b. Hasan was Abul Kasim and under no circumstances an individual had two Kuniyets. Over and above this it was not possible for Minūchihirī to have composed any panegyric on him because at that time, as has been already remarked, Minūchihirī was in Gurjān and Tabaristan and had no connection with the court of Ghazna, and it is also not possible that the poet wrote any panegyric on him during his ministry under the rule of Sultan

¹ Vide Note 1, p. 307 and Note No. 1, p. 317.

Mas'ūd, as the premier died in Herat in the month of Šafar in 424 A.H.¹ and because Minūchihirī came to the court of Mas'ūd in the year 426-27 A.H. after the death of Ahmad b. Hasan, and if Minūchihirī at all wrote qaṣīdas on one of the ministers of the court and if he mentioned the name as 'Ahmad' it was on Khawja Abdul Hamid Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Abdus Samad who after the death of Ahmad b. Hasan Maimandi became the Minister of Sultan Mas'ūd in 425 A.H. and continued to be so even during the rule of Maudud b. Mas'ūd (432-44 A.H.).

5. The author of *Khulasat-ul-Afkar* has written that Minūchihirī was a pupil of Abul Faraj Sikzi and other writers following him have also written the same thing. This view also is erroneous. Abul Faraj Sikzi or Abul Faraj Simjuri was a poet who flourished towards the end of the fourth century. He lived during the reign of Nasiruddin Sabuktigin in Herat and Khurasan, whereas Minūchihirī at this time was a mere child at Damaghan and it is not possible that he had been a pupil of Abul Faraj Sikzi.

6. The author of *Majma-ul-Fusah* says that Minūchihirī was a pupil of Unsuri. This is also a mistake which has arisen from the fact that Minūchihirī in his qaṣīda composed in the metaphor of a candle has mentioned Unsuri as استاد (Ustad, i.e. Master). Obviously, Minūchihirī paid this compliment to Unsuri out of respect for the poet and also with the object of gaining his favour, and not because Unsuri was his teacher in reality. It is only after the year 427 A.H. when Minūchihirī went to the court of Ghazna that he became acquainted with Unsuri there. He had already become a famous poet and had no need to undergo any training whatsoever under Unsuri.

7. The different editions of the *Diwan* of Minūchihirī lithographed in Teheran contain poems which are not Minūchihirī's compositions. As for instance, the qaṣīda, the first verse of which begins with:

جواز زلف شب باز شد تابها فرو مرد قنديل محرابها

(i) The ninth verse of the qaṣīda has been quoted in *Kitabul Mujam Fi-Maair-i-Ashaar-il-Ajam*² and its authorship attributed to Unsuri. It runs as follows:—

ابر زير و بم شعر اعشى و قيس همی زد رنده بعنايه

¹ Vide *Tarikh-i-Baihaqi*, Teheran edition, p. 371.

² Gibb Memorial Series, p. 269.

(ii) Also the authorship of the *qaṣīda* (which has been incorporated in Kazimirski's edition also) with the *malta*

سلام علی دار ام الکعب بتان سیر چشم عنبر دوائب

has been ascribed in Munis-ul-Ahrar¹ *fi-Daqaiq-il-Ashaar* and in *Majma-ul-Fusaha*² to Hasan-i-Mutakallim, a poet of the seventh century A.H. The 51st verse of the *qaṣīda* runs as follows:—

منم از نژاد بزرگان سامان که بودند شاهان چتر و کواکب

Thus we see that the author of the *qaṣīda* claims descent from the Samanid dynasty, whereas we have no knowledge that Minūchihirī had any royal blood in him.

(iii) There is another *qaṣīda* which actually belongs to Khaju or Kirman, a well-known poet of the sixth century A.H. and is contained in his *Diwan*. Besides there is internal evidence in the *qaṣīda* itself to show that it could not have been composed by Minūchihirī. The poet in the 23rd verse of the *qaṣīda* gives the date of construction of the Hamman as the year 716 A.H. Again, the 30th verse contains reference to Anwarī, which shows that the *qaṣīda* was the composition of a poet who was a contemporary of, or who flourished after, Anwarī. The strongest evidence is found in *Tarikh-i-Jadid* dealing with the history of Yazd written by Ahmad b. Husain b. Ali Katib of Yazd. While describing the various constructions made in Yazd under the orders of Amīr Muhammad Muzaffar, i.e. Muhammad b. Muzaffar (713 to 759 A.H.), the founder of the Muzaffarid dynasty, the author writes about the Hamman made under the orders of the aforesaid Amīr and quotes several verses from this very *qaṣīda* which was written in praise of the Hamman with the assertion that the same was composed by Kamaluddin Khaju of Kirman.

Besides this, the style of the *qaṣīda* is widely different from that of Minūchihirī, which by itself is a proof that it is not a composition of Minūchihirī.

(iv) Another is a *Musammāt* which, from a perusal of the old trustworthy manuscripts, appears to be a composition of Manjik of Tirmiz, a poet who flourished in the beginning of the fifth century before Minūchihirī.

8. There are several verses found in various works which are not contained in his *Diwan*. As for instance, there is one with eleven verses which has been quoted in page 407 in *Kitabul Munjaim* as the composition of Minūchihirī. There are two stanzas of

¹ Gibb Memorial Series, p. 269.

² *Ibid.*, p. 14 of the volume No. 2.

Tarjiband consisting of nine verses, the first one of which has been quoted in *Manazir-ul-Insha* by Shaik Mahmūd b. Shaik Mohammad of Gillan¹ as the composition of Minūchihirī.

Again there is another qaṣīda consisting of 43 verses, which has been written in some of the old manuscripts as belonging to Minūchihirī and in some manuscripts of the *Diwan* of Khakani it has been quoted as the composition of Khakani. But the style of the qaṣīda bears no resemblance to the style of Khakani.

In some standard lexicons, we find several verses cited by way of illustration as compositions of Minūchihirī but they are not found in his *Diwan* nor are poems of similar metre and rhyme found in his *Diwan*. Thus it is obvious that the qaṣīdas containing those verses are lost.

¹ Printed in Istamboul, p. 57.

MISCELLANEA

KAUMUDĪMAHOTSAVA

I(a) Author

The late Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi has to his credit the discovery and publication of many forgotten pieces of historical value. One such is the *Kaumudīmahotsava*, which he edited along with Pandit S. K. Ramanatha Śāstrī. But who was the author of this literary gem? In the Introduction to his book, he has to confess that the letters containing the name of the poet are worm-eaten in the original MS. The space occupied by them, however, can comprise two letters only. The letters following them are *kayā nibaddham* which he rightly remarks 'shows that the author belonged to the fair sex' and that her name was composed of three letters. He guessed that it was *Vijjikā* (*Vijjakā*). He even informs us that a close examination of the leaf revealed a part of *ja* underneath the worm-eaten portion which strengthens his inference. *Vijjakā* is thus, to all intents and purposes, the name of the author. His mind, however, is shadowed with some doubt, because on page 35 of this book occurs the following verse:—

Jayati prathamam vijayā jāyanti dēvāḥ svayaṁ Mahādēvaḥ |
Śrīmantau bhagavantāv=Ananta-Nārāyaṇau jayataḥ ||

This need not cast at all any reasonable doubt upon the name of the author. Amongst the deities mentioned in this verse the last two are *Ananta-Nārāyaṇau*, which is in the 'dual, and not *Ananta-Nārāyaṇaḥ*, which is the name of the chief deity of Trivandrum. This verse again begins with the name of *Vijayā* which is a point of great importance in my opinion. Immediately after *Sūtradhāra* sings his song in praise of Kṛttivāsa (Mahādēva), we are told that when the drama was to be acted, the autumn season had approached—the autumnal season which is a great festival common to all people. *Vijayā* fits excellently with this great festivity of autumn (*śarat-samaya*). As a matter of fact, in north India, especially in the eastern part of it, the festivities of *Vijayā-daśamī* are too well known to require any mention. This shows that the mind of the author was far removed from the site of Ananta-nārāyaṇa, god of Trivandrum.

S. R. S.

KAUMUDĪMAHOTSAVA

II(b) Author

We may thus take it that the author of the drama is Vijjakā and that she flourished in the eastern part of India, if she was not actually a native of Bengal. The name Vijjakā at once reminds us of the verse which is attributed to her at least in the *Śāṅgadhara-Paddhati* (No. 180), which runs as follows:—

Nīl-ōtpala-dala-śyāmām Vijjakām mām=ajānatā |
Vṛth=aiva Daṇḍinā prōktaṃ sarva-śuklā Sarasvatī ||

Evidently in this stanza Vijjakā describes herself as 'dark like the petal of a blue lotus'. Nevertheless she is bold enough to style herself as Sarasvatī and find fault with the poet Daṇḍin because he has described the goddess Sarasvatī '*sarvaśuklā*'. This gives rise to two inferences: the first is that she was a contemporary of Daṇḍin and was possibly known to him through her writings. The second inference is that she must have composed a number of works which attracted the attention and admiration of her contemporaries. Now Daṇḍin begins his *Kāvyādarśa* with the following verse:—

Chaturmukha-mukh-āmbhōja-vana-hamsa-vadhūr- -mama |
Mānase ramatām dīrghaṃ sarva-śuklā Sarasvatī ||

This poem of Daṇḍin must, therefore, have been known to Vijjakā. On the other hand, as she chides the poet for describing Sarasvatī as *sarva-śuklā*, there can be no doubt that she was his contemporary. How else could she scold Daṇḍin that he knew about her rather dark complexion and yet styled *Sarasvatī* as 'all-fair'. That she was a *Sarasvatī* is proved by the number of verses which are ascribed to her in the various anthologies and which are as many as 29. Unfortunately not one of them is traceable in the *Kaumudīmahotsava*. This need not run counter to the view propounded above. The case is not unlike Bhāsa. Multifarious verses have been attributed to this poet in the anthologies, but hardly any one has been found in his works so far published.

S. R. S.

SOCIAL STATUS OF THE MAURYAS

The barber-story is almost proverbial in the ancient royal tradition of India. When a reigning monarch was found stingy in the payment of rewards or in making gifts, he was taken to be a

barber's son.¹ There must have been some such reason at the back of the Brahmanical tradition regarding the Śūdra origin of the Nandas and Mauryas. The Purāṇas predict, 'As son of Mahā-naudin (last Śaiśunāga) by a Śūdra woman will be born a king, Mahāpadma (Nanda) who will exterminate all kṣatriyas. Thereafter kings will be of śūdra origin'.²

The founder of the Nanda family is called 'the leading vile man' (*nīcamukhyaḥ*) in the Mūlakaḥ (verse 424).³ In the Mahāvamsa-ṭikā the first Nanda, who was a warrior-like man, figures as the powerful leader of a gang of thieves and a band of freebooters. He is not, however, connected by the Pali tradition with the last Śaiśunāga through blood-relationship. The Mūlakaḥ legend says that originally he was the prime minister of the last king of Viśoka-Kāśāśoka's family.

Curtius narrates a story from the Indian stock, which is devised to account for the śūdra origin of Agrammes (Augrasainya-Nanda). According to this story, father of Agrammes was a wretched barber, who could be in love-intrigue with the queen of the reigning king because of his prepossessing appearance. By her influence he gained so much confidence of the king as to figure ultimately as a trusted adviser. Taking advantage of this privileged position he treacherously murdered the king, and 'under the pretence of acting as guardian to the royal children, usurped the supreme authority, and having put the royal young princes to death begot 'Agrammes'. The suggestion is that the Nanda contemporary of Alexander was a barber's son by the queen dowager of the last Śaiśunāga. Hemachandra in his *Parīṣṭaparvan*, however, represents the first Nanda 'as the son of a courtesan by a barber', while, according to the Purāṇas, he was 'a son of the last Śaiśunāga by a śūdra woman'.⁴

The process of myth-making did not stop short there: the śūdra or barber-story continued. Despite the fact that neither the Pali Chronicles nor the Purāṇas suggest any blood-connection between the last Nanda and the first Maurya, Viśākhadatta, his commentator Dhundirāja and other Sanskrit scholiasts would derive the dynastic name *Maurya* from that of Murā, a śūdra woman by whom the last Nanda begot Candragupta (Maurya, father of Candragupta, according to Dhundirāja).⁵ In the *Mudrārākṣasa* itself Cāṇakya openly calls Candragupta a *Vṛṣala* or *Śūdra*, which need not, however,

¹ Cf. Pali *Suppāraka Jātaka* (No. 463).

² Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text*, pp. 25, 69.

³ Jayaswal, *An Ancient History*, p. 14.

⁴ Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th Ed., pp. 187f. In the Jaina *Vividha-Tīrthakalpa*, p. 6, Nanda is described as *nāpita-gāṇikā-sūtaḥ*.

⁵ Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

worry us as we know from the Pali Vasala and Ambaṭṭha Suttas that the Brāhman teachers applied the contemptuous terms *Vasala* and *Bandhupādāpatya* ('one sprung from the feet of Brahman', i.e. a *Sūdra*) to the *Śramanas*, the Śākyaputriyas included, not because, as pointed out in the Sutta-nipāta-Commentary, they were all of the Sūdra caste but because they admitted even the Sūdras into their orders and interdined with them.

The force of the story of the barber-mother or grandmother of Candragupta may be counteracted by the Divyāvadāna story of the barber-mother of Aśoka himself. His mother was not a woman of the barber caste but a very handsome and accomplished Brahmin girl from Campā whom other queens of Bindusāra, jealous of her, employed her in the palace to attend as a female hair-dresser on the king. When she disclosed the real fact to the king, she said, 'Lord! I am not a barber girl but a daughter of a Brahmin by whom I am offered to be your wife'.¹

Hemachandra in his *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan* derives the name *Maurya* from *mayura* ('peacock') and suggests that Candragupta came to be styled *Maurya* from the circumstance that he was 'the son of a daughter of the chief of a village of peacock-tamers (*mayurapoṣakāḥ*)'.² If the Greek writer Justin describes Sandrocottus as a man 'of mean origin', it does not mean much, since he must have based his account on an Indian tradition.

The Pali Chronicles, on the other hand, and Buddhist legends³ generally represent Candragupta as a scion of the Moriya clan of Kṣatriyas—the Moriyas of Pippalivana,⁴ which abounded with wild peacocks. Led, however, by a Śākya-phobia, the Buddhist legends describe the Moriyas as descendants of the Śākyas who fled away from their own territory when it was overrun by the army of Viḍūḍabha-Virūdhaka, the usurper king of Kośala, and founded a new territory. The story is guilty of anachronism because, as borne out by the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta, the Moriyas of Pippalivana were, precisely like the Śākyas of Kapilavastu, one of the eight rival claimants for the bodily remains of the Buddha.

As for the connection of the Mauryas of Pāṭaliputra with the Moriyas,⁴ the Mahāvamsa-tīkā tells us that Candragupta's mother, who was the chief queen of the then reigning Moriya king, fled in

¹ *Divyāvadāna*, p. 370: *Deva, nāham nāpinī api brāhmaṇasyāhaṃ duhitā tena devasya paṇyārthaṃ datā.*

² Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

³ Beal, *Buddhist Records*, I, p. 126.

⁴ According to Raychaudhuri, Pippalivana 'probably lay between Rumindei in the Nepalese Tarai and Kasia in the Gorakhpur district'. Note that Hwen Thsang narrates a legend (Beal, *Buddhist Records*, I, p. 126), which connects the Śākya-Mauryas with the country of Udyāna.

disguise from the Moriya capital to Puṣṣapura (Pāṭaliputra) during her advanced pregnancy, and gave birth to her son there, when the Moriya territory was seized by a powerful neighbour (samanārañña). The story built up in this connection reads somehow as a later replica of the earlier legend of the birth of Aśoka's elder step-brother's son Nyagrodha, and at the root of the ingenuity of the one, precisely as at that of the other is a fantastic philological justification of the personal name.

Candragupta does not appear to have been known to Megasthenes, and for the matter of that, to any of the Greek writers, as a scion of the Maurya family. None need be surprised at all if the connection of the Mauryas with the Moriyas was due to an after-thought on the part of the Buddhists when they wanted to especially honour their Dharmāśoka and claim him as their own man. The Buddhist legends concerning the Śākya lineage of the Moriyas and Mauryas would seem accountable also for the representation of the Mauryas in certain late mediaeval Mysore inscriptions as Kṣatriyas who sprang from Mandhātṛi of the Solar race.¹

Hemachandra, as we noted, accounts for the dynastic name Maurya by the tradition that Candragupta was a son of the daughter of the headman of a village of *mayurapoṣakas* ('peacock-tamers'). Buddhaghosa informs us that the Kṣatriyas who founded their territory at Pippalivana were called Moriyas because this place happened to be a feeding-ground of *moras* (peacocks).² The Mahāvamsa-tīkā, which connects Candragupta with the Moriyas, accounts for their name by a tradition that they built in their capital buildings of blue stone like the neck of the peacock, and the place always resounded with the cries of peacocks.³

In support of the connection of the Mauryas with peacocks, Raychaudhuri notices the following two facts⁴ which create but a presumptive evidence:—

- (i) that Aelian speaks of tame peacocks that were kept in the parks attached to the Maurya palace at Pāṭaliputra; and
- (ii) that figures of peacocks were employed to decorate some of the projecting ends of the architraves of the east gateway at Sāñcī.⁵

¹ *Epigraphia Indica*, II, p. 222; Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

² Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pālī Proper Names*, II, p. 673.

³ *Vamsatīhappakāsini*, I, p. 180; *mayūra-gīva-saṅkāsa-chhadaniṭṭhaka-pāsāda-pantikaṃ . . . mayūrakēka-nādehi pūritam ugghositaṃ*.

⁴ Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

⁵ Sir John Marshall, *A Guide to Sanchi*, pp. 44, 62. Attention might be drawn to the representation of a 'peacock-palace' as a decorative device on the outer railing of the *Stūpa of Bharhut*.

If any light is thrown on this point by Aśoka's R.I. I, it is rather this, namely, that the Mauryas of Pāṭaliputra were inordinately fond of peacock's flesh. All the animals could be dispensed with and exempted from daily slaughter in the royal kitchen for the purpose of curry but not two peafowls (*duvi majura*). The inference to be reasonably drawn from this is that the dynastic name, Maurya, was really a nickname, which probably gained currency from the excessive fondness of the rulers of this family for peafowl's flesh. In other words, the Mauryas were rather *mayurakhādakas* than *mayurapoṣakas*.

There is no conclusive evidence as yet to establish Candragupta's lineal descent from the Śākya-Moriyas or Nandas. Plutarch's remark that 'Androkottus himself, who was then a lad, saw Alexander himself and afterwards used to declare that Alexander might easily have occupied the whole country, as the then king was hated by his subjects on account of his mean and wicked disposition'¹ must be taken with a grain of salt. There was nothing in Candragupta's conversation to enrage Alexander who, according to Justin, 'did not scruple to give orders to kill the intrepid Indian lad for his boldness of speech'. It was quite against the youthful spirit of Candragupta who in Justin's opinion was the brave hero and military leader, and who made India free, shaking off 'from its neck the yoke of slavery' since Alexander's death.

To me Candragupta was a man of the Uttarāpatha or Gandhāra, if not exactly of Takṣaśilā. His early education, military training, and alliances were all in that part of India. He added the whole of the province of Gandhāra and the surrounding tribal States (Punjab and N.W. Frontier Province) to the growing Magadha empire together with the territories ceded to him by Seleukos Nikator. The love was never lost between this *aparānta* and the Mauryas. Aśoka's scribes were all persons whose habitual script was Kharoṣṭī, and his artists were those who were still carrying on the tradition of the architecture of Persepolis. Candragupta and Aśoka of the Maurya dynasty who could create a glorious history for themselves and their country, did not need credentials based upon royal lineage. The Greek writers speak only of one matrimonial alliance by which Seleukos ratified his treaty with Candragupta.

B. M. BARUA.

¹ *Life of Alexander*, lxii.

EPIGRAPHICAL NOTE : VIKRAMĀDITYA VI AND HOYSALA VISHṆUVARDHANA

A verse in the Gaddak inscription (A.D. 1192) of Ballāla II refers to his grandfather Hoysala Vishṇuvardhana and says:

Yah smāryate niyuktaiḥ pratyupacāram nṛpeṣvasādhyaṭayā |
Paramārdideva-nṛpater=Hoysalam avadhārayeti muhuḥ ||

Fleet understood this verse as follows: 'Recognizing that, among all princes, the Hoysala was the most impracticable to deal with, Permādi, i.e. the Western Chālukya King Vikramāditya VI, treated Vishṇuvardhana with just the same respectful behaviour which Vishṇuvardhana displayed towards himself.'¹ Accordingly he concluded that the Hoysala and his suzerain continued to be friends, and that when Vishṇuvardhana advanced to the Krishṇā river with his forces, he was 'in conflict, not so much with Vikramāditya VI himself, who is recognized in the records as his paramount sovereign, as with the Sinda feudatories of the Western Chālukya King'. Now in saying this, Fleet has set aside the clear evidence of the Sinda inscriptions very well known to him that Āchugi II and later his son were throughout carrying out the behests of their suzerain, the Chālukya emperor.² He has also lost sight of the fact that, excepting his wars with the lieutenants of Kulōttunga in Gangavādi, all the wars of Vishṇuvardhana were waged against the feudatories of Chālukya emperor, and consequently against the emperor himself. Lightly as the yoke of an Indian empire sat upon the necks of its feudatories, it never was so loose as to absolve the emperor from the elementary responsibility of securing to his subordinates freedom from molestation by the foreign invader or oppression by fellow feudatories.

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar rightly took exception to the interpretation of the verse cited above which led to such impossible results. He said, 'Dr. Fleet's translation of this verse is incorrect. The words are to be thus collocated. Nṛpeṣu asādhyaṭayā Hoysalam avadhāraya iti Paramārdideva nṛpateḥ pratyupacāram yaḥ niyuktaiḥ muhuḥ smāryate.' The translation given by Bhandarkar reads: 'He was again and again reminded by his servants of the honour done to him by King Paramārdideva (Vikramāditya), who said "know the Hoysala alone among all princes to be unconquerable".'³ I think that even this translation misses the point of the verse. When I say this I would not be understood as unmindful of the

¹ *D.K.D.*, 497; also *I.A.*, ii.

² *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XI, 234, 244, 269-70.

³ *E.H.D.*, 3, p. 150.

great authority that attaches to a pronouncement of Bhandarkar on the interpretation of a Sanskrit text. But it seems to me that while the collocation of the words in the verse suggested by the veteran Sanskritist is unexceptionable, its full force does not come out in the translation he has offered. The mischief lies in the understanding of the word 'pratyupacāram'; this term was understood by Fleet in the easily apparent sense of 'honour in return', and Bhandarkar has not been able to shake off the influence of that rendering and still clings to the meaning 'honour', in the sense of honour done by Vikramāditya to Vishṇuvardhana, though he ignores the prefix 'prati'.

I suggest that 'upacāra' here means 'attendance', the attendance of Vikramāditya's servants on the emperor, and 'prati' has the repetitive force; so that the whole word means 'at every attendance'. The speech regarding the Hoysala is that which Vikramāditya's servants addressed to him every time they were in attendance on him, reminding him to beware of the Hoysala who was the most difficult to control of all his feudatory kings. If the speech is put into the mouth of Vikramāditya, as Bhandarkar does, it becomes difficult to say to whom it is addressed. I would therefore render the verse as follows: 'Who is being often reminded to King Paramārdideva by his servants every time they attend on him saying "beware of the Hoysala who of all princes is impossible to secure".' This is a picturesque way of depicting the relation between the suzerain and his over-mighty vassal; it might not be literally true, but has its substantial justification in the known facts of history. And this verse attests not friendliness between the two as Fleet thought, but rather implacable enmity. In fact, Vikramāditya did everything he could to checkmate the designs of Vishṇuvardhana, and himself assumed the title of Vishṇuvardhana to emphasize the subordinate relation of the Hoysala to him. That among Vishṇuvardhana's inscriptions some acknowledge the suzerainty of the Chālukya emperor does not by any means invalidate our interpretation of the verse and its implications.¹ There is no lack of direct clashes between the Hoysala forces and imperial troops as in the battle of Kanṇegal in A.D. 1118.²

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

¹ B.K., 96 of 1929-30.

² E.C., II, 73 (59); 125 (45).

REVIEWS

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF GUJARAT (INCLUDING KATHIAWAR),
by H. D. Sankalia. Pp. xiv+267+App. 110. With 41 plates. Published by
Natwarlal & Co., 361 Hornby Road, Bombay. Price Rs.15.

In this sumptuous and well-documented volume which secured for its author the Doctorate degree of London University, he has attempted 'to study the entire archaeological material, prehistoric as well as historic, of Gujarat and Kathiawar, especially with a view to correlating the monuments of both these regions with their epigraphs from the early historical times to the end of the fourteenth century'. In the result he claims to have traced 'the antiquity and evolution of architecture, sculpture, cults, iconography, epigraphy, numismatics, administration, society and religion in the [*sic*] pre-Muslim Gujarat and Kathiawar over a period of about 1,600 years'. A perusal of this work is enough to convince us that the author has, on the whole, succeeded remarkably well in his attempt. This verdict is, however, subject to some important limitations caused by the necessities of the situation. We may first mention the author's complete silence (except for a few references in the Introduction) to the prehistoric archaeology of Gujarat. In the second place, as he frankly admits, because of the impossibility of tracing the relation between the monuments and the epigraphs for the most part, he had perforce to classify the former somewhat arbitrarily according to dynastic periods based mainly upon grounds of style.

The present work consists of five Parts dealing successively with *Geography and History, Architecture and Sculpture, Cults and Iconography, Epigraphy and Numismatics, Administration, Society and Religion*, and it concludes with a chapter called *Gujarat and Indian Culture*. This is followed by seven maps illustrating the findspots of inscriptions and coins, the location of monuments and the trade-routes, and a series of plates illustrating the architecture and sculpture of Gujarat. Among the Appendices are included a complete list of inscriptions classified according to dynasties (Appendix A), genealogical tables of ruling dynasties (App. B), place-names found in the inscriptions (App. D), *Gotra* names with names of *Vedas*, place of residence, etc. of Brahmans mentioned in the inscriptions (App. E). Appendix I on Gujarat temples states that they may be classified under the *Vesara* style according to the improved interpretation of the traditional classification by Gravelly and Ramachandran. Appendix L contains a good bibliography arranged under appropriate heads. Four separate Indices under the captions 'Administrative terms', 'Architectural and other terms', 'Classical books' and 'General' bring this highly useful volume to a close. The paper, print and get-up are all that can be desired in these abnormal times.

It is impossible in the course of a short book-review to deal with all the important points treated in this volume of detailed and painstaking research. But we may offer a few observations. In the chapter on *Architecture* the author gives an exhaustive account (based largely on the works of Burgess and Cousens) of the Gujarat monuments arranged in three chronological periods (Ancient, Early Mediaeval, and Mediaeval). He gives good grounds for disproving (p. 48) Burgess' view that a group of early caves at Junagarh were Buddhist, holding that they were Jain. Again, he seems to be on firm ground when disproving Cousens' view of derivation of the Gop temple-type from Kashmir (pp. 57-9), though his own suggestion of Gandhāra influence by way of Sind is admittedly inconclusive. It is, again,

unfortunate that he has not found it possible to give an adequate account of the group of Jaina temples at Satrunjaya in Kathiawar, not to speak of those of Mount Abu in Rajputana. Finally, one could have wished that his description of the evolution of architectural parts and *motifs* (Ch. III-IV), full and detailed as it is, had been illustrated with diagrams somewhat on the lines of Professor Jouveau Dubreuil's *Archeologie du Sud de l'Inde*.

The chapter on *Cults* contains what may be called a complete iconographic survey of the temples with reference to their cult-images, images on door-lintels and niches and so forth. It is interesting to find mention (p. 130) in this connection of a twelfth century temple of the goddess Śītalāmūtā so well known in Bengal. The chapter on *Iconography* contains a very valuable account of the types of extant Brahmanical images with their various forms or *avatāras* along with the images of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras and their *Parivāra-devatās*. Of striking interest is the fact (pp. 153-4) that no temples exclusively dedicated to Kṛṣṇa exist in Gujarat, although we have a number of scenes depicted from his life, including a few specimens of Kāliya-mardana first identified by the author. Notable also is the author's classification (p. 163) of the extant Sūrya images into three types, namely, (1) purely Caulukyan, (2) so-called Rajputana type, and (3) mixed. We have also a few figures of Gaṅgā differing from the Gupta type, but not one of Yammū (p. 165).

In the chapter on *Epigraphy*, the author deals exhaustively with the material and size, paleography, era, style and matter, and seal-emblems of the inscriptions. His statement in this connection (p. 176), namely, that the 'classical style in *Prasasti* is heralded by the Skandagupta inscription' is, however, belied by the Girnar rock inscription of Rudradāman, not to speak of the Allahabad *Prasasti* of Samudragupta, the Nasik *Prasasti* of Gautamiputra Sātākarnī, and the Hathigumphā inscription of Kharavela, to which Bühler drew our attention long ago in a famous paper quoted by the author in the same context. The chapter on *Numismatics* gives a detailed account of Gujarat coinage from the earliest times. It is remarkable that coins of early as well as late medineval periods are almost conspicuous by their absence (p. 190). It is difficult to agree with the author's view (p. 187) offered in this connection, namely, that 'the Roman influence must be very great', for, as he himself admits, the Romans left little influence on the local coinage, except perhaps in the case of Nahapāna's coins.

The chapter on *Administration* gives a connected account of administrative connections prevailing in the country from the Maurya to the Caulukya times. But the author might have referred to the detailed notices by the present reviewer (*Agrarian System in Ancient India*, pp. 44-5, 51, 56-7, 65-6) of the fiscal conditions in that region at different periods of its ancient history. In particular, he might have mentioned the reviewer's suggested interpretations of the terms *udranga*, *uparikara*, *daśāparādha*, *Brāhmaṇa-vimśati*, *dhruvādhikaraṇika* and *anupannasamudgrāhaka* of the Maitraka grants, the interpretation of the unit of 84 villages and its subdivisions in some Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Čālukya inscriptions, not to speak of the references in the *Moha-parājaya* drama to Kumārāpala's prohibition of gambling and drinking as well as discontinuance of confiscation of heirless property.

In the chapter on *Society* the author has proved from epigraphic evidence the preponderance of Yajurvedic and Sāmavedic Brāhmaṇas over the Ṛgvedic and Ātharvaṇa, and he has traced back the Āśvalāyana Carāṇa to the seventh century A.D. (pp. 205-6). In the same context interesting data are given about the antiquity of the Brahman sub-castes, as also the status of the Vānias and the Kāyasthas (pp. 207-8, 210-11).

The chapter on *Religion* contains an admirably complete summary (based on the evidence of inscriptions and monuments) of the prevailing forms of the Brahmanical religion as well as Buddhism and Jainism. Śaivism seems to have enjoyed

the longest and most prosperous career and it later became the leading religion according to the authority of Brahmanical and Jaina chronicles. Among the Śaiva sects mention is made not only of the familiar Pāśupatas, but also of two rare names, viz. Amarddaka and Cāpala (pp. 223-5). On the other hand, the monumental and literary references to Vaiṣṇavism are surprisingly scanty. In view of the Pauranic association of Dvārakā with Kṛṣṇa, it is strange to find only two episodes of his career (Kāliya-mardana and Govardhana-dhāraṇa) represented by archaeology (pp. 227-8). As the author tells us elsewhere, the Kṛṣṇa cult cannot be traced back earlier than the twelfth or thirteenth century.

In the concluding chapter, the author gives us a striking comparison and contrast between the culture of Gujarat as evidenced by archaeology and that of its neighbouring lands. As regards the branch of literature, the complete absence of material for the ancient and early mediaeval periods stands out in marked contrast with the sudden burst of a rich Sanskrit and Prakrit as well as vernacular literature in the late mediaeval times (pp. 249-52). Under the head *Architecture*, the author concludes from an elaborate comparison that the Śikhara style of Gujarat temples is different from that of the Paramāra, late Rāṣṭrakūṭa, Haihaya, Candella and Cālukya shrines, while resembling that of Cutch and Rajputana (p. 259). Summing up the evidence in the last paragraph, the author divides Gujarat culture into two periods. From early historical times down to the tenth century A.D. it was purely receptive. With the acquisition of independence thereafter, its culture became creative in every branch of national life—in art and architecture, literature, religion: in a word, it achieved a cultural unity which gave it its later individuality (p. 259).

We have noticed a few slips which do not detract in any way from the value of the present work which is bound to remain the standard authority on the subject for a long time to come. The interpretation (p. 229) of a Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription to the effect that Buddhism was promulgated in Southern Gujarat by Ceylonese monks has been proved to be wrong. In Appendix A, p. 1, Rāṣṭriya Tuṣṭispha is a slip.

U. N. GHOSAL.

POST-VEDIC ARYANS: THE YĀDAVAS (Section III), reprinted from the *Glory that was Gūrjaradeśa* (Part I—The Prehistoric West Coast), pp. 99-136, with Appendices, by DR. A. D. PUSALKAR.

The learned author is to be congratulated on the publication of this interesting and thought-provoking treatise. The first chapter deals with the history of the Yādavas up to the time of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. The second chapter is very important as it deals with the vexed problem of the historicity of Kṛṣṇa. The author has taken great pains to collect all the literary and epigraphic evidences relating to the problem. The third chapter deals with the fortunes of the Yādavas during the Bhārata War and briefly narrates their later history. Two genealogical tables are also given at the end of the textual portion. They contain names of kings with probable dates. The Appendix I gives the genealogy of the Yādavas up to the Bhārata War while the later Yādavas are dealt with in the Appendix II. It is needless to add that the Yadus or Yādavas were one of the most important tribes of ancient India. According to the Purāṇas, Yadu, the eldest son of Yayāti, founded the Yādava dynasty. Yadu had four or five sons of whom Kroṣṭu and Sahasrajit were important. The descendants of Sahasrajit were named after his grandson Haihaya. The Haihayas comprised five families, the Vitihoṭras, Śāryātas, Bhojas, Avantis and Tuṇḍikeras. Kroṣṭu's descendants were particularly known as the Yādavas. The allied tribes

of the Yādavas seem to have held sway over a large tract of country comprising Rājputānā, Mālwā, Gujarat and Deccan. The various Yādava tribes like the Bhojas, Andhakas, Vṛṣṇis, Sātvatas, Mādhyavas, Daśārṇas, Ahukas, Kukutis, etc. were divided in their allegiance during the Bhārata War. The majority headed by Kṛṣṇa sided with the Pāṇḍavas. Kṛtavarmān and the Bhojas joined Duryodhana. Some years after the Bhārata War the Yādavas were ruined by fratricidal strife and Kṛṣṇa died. They abandoned Dvārakā which was encroached by the sea and they retreated northward. Their subsequent history is fragmentary and the cursory treatment includes the Yādavas or more aptly the Sūrasenas of Mathurā, the Yādavas of Central and Western India and the Yādavas of Devagiri or Daulatabad. Some of the recent publications, e.g. 'Tribes in Ancient India' by Dr. B. C. Law, ought to have been included in the list of Abbreviations.

T. N. CHAKRAVARTTY.

FORMS, MERITS AND DEFECTS OF AŚOKA'S INSCRIPTIONS

By B. M. BARUA

Kauṭilya (Arthaśāstra, II. 10) distinguishes between the following seven forms of royal writs (*śāsanāni*): (1) *prajñāpana-lekha*, public notification, 'writ of information'; (2) *ājñālekha*, 'writ of command', orders, official instructions; (3) *paridāna-lekha*, 'writ of remission'; (4) *niśr̥ṣṭi-lekha*, 'writ of licence'; (5) *prāvṛttika-lekha* 'writ of guidance'; (6) *pratilekha*, 'writ of reply'; (7) *sarvatragalekha*, 'writ for wide circulation'.

The 'writ of information' is defined as an epistolary form of writing by which the person or persons concerned are informed of the contents of a message to be faithfully delivered with the words—'Thus saith the king' (*anena vijñāpitam 'Evamāha'*).

The 'writ of command' is a form which contains the king's orders, either for rewards or punishments, particularly meant for the officers (*bhartur ājñā bhavet yatra nigrahānugrahān prati, viśeṣena tu bhṛtyeṣu*).

The third is meant for 'the bestowal of honour for deserving merit', either in the manner of a specific relief or as gifts.

The fourth denotes a form to be adopted in announcing to the classes of people or to the localities concerned certain special privilege (*anugraha*) by way of remission, granted in obedience to the king's order (*anugraho yo nṛpater nirdeśāt*).

The fifth denotes rather a form meant for granting licence or permission by word or deed, which deserves therefore to be treated rather as a verbal order (*vācika-lekha*).

The sixth is a form meant for timely giving guidance as to how to provide against or ward off possible and impending calamities.

The seventh is to be adopted in sending suitable reply to a letter in accordance with the king's orders.

The eighth represents a form to be adopted in issuing general directions to all official agents concerned in matters of general welfare and public safety.

Going by Kauṭilya's classification and definition of the different forms of royal writs, the three Barabar Hill-cave Inscriptions must be put in the category of *paridāna-lekha*, and the second half of the Lumbini Pillar Inscription in that of *parihāra-lekha*. The concluding portion of P.E. IV granting, as it does, three days' respite to criminals condemned to death by court sentence deserves the name of *paridāna*

and *parihāra* as well as of *niśyṣṭi*. R.I. VIII and Jambini Pillar and Nigali Sagar Inscriptions that are, on the whole, mere records of the king's pious tours and works, carry no other force than that of writs of public information, even without the words 'Thus saith the king'.

The Schism Pillar Edict is typically an *ājñālekha* or writ of command, in as far as the Buddhist schismatics go, and a *sarvatraga-lekha* as regards the general directions issued to the *Mahāmātras* concerned. Similarly, though the Queen's Edict, when judged by its content, is just a *paridāna-lekha*, according to its technical form, it is just an example of *sarvatraga*.

The First Separate Rock Edict which is addressed to the city-judiciary of Tosali and Samāpā is an *ājñālekha* beyond any doubt. As for S.R.E. II, it contains certain directions to his official representatives as to the general policy to be followed in dealing with the frontier peoples and 'frontagers', whence it deserves the name of Kautilya's *sarvatraga*.

The text embodied in the Minor Rock Edict is by Aśoka's own nomenclature, *dhammasāvana* or proclamation of piety. R.E. II, R.E. XIV, P.E. VI and P.E. VII deserve the same appellation by their contents. They are *sarvatraga* in the literal sense of the term, though not according to Kautilya's definition.

According to Aśoka, P.E. V stands as a typical instance of his *dhamma-niyama* or regulation of piety. A regulation is in its substance an *ājñālekha* as well as a *sarvatraga* under Kautilya's definition. R.E. I, R.E. III, R.E. V, R.E. VI, R.E. VII, R.E. XII, R.E. XIII, P.E. IV and Bhabru Edict partake all of the character of a *dhamma-niyama*. R.E. IV, R.E. IX, R.E. X, R.E. XI, P.E. I, P.E. II and P.E. III just inculcate Aśoka's *dhammānusathini* or principles of piety.

But all as engraved appear as *prajñāpana-lekha*, writs of information, or what Jayaswal would call public notifications.

Viewing Aśoka's records in the light of Kautilya's forms of royal writs, Jayaswal has reasonably doubted the propriety of the name of 'Edicts' applied by European scholars to them. Judged by Kautilya's prescriptions, they are either of these two descriptions, public notifications and proclamations, but not edicts.

By definition an edict is an order proclaimed by authority. If we adhere to this definition, the name of edict is not applicable to the bulk of Aśoka's records. But liberally construed, most of the records are edicts in the sense that whether apparently moral instructions or public proclamations, they tacitly carry with them the will and authority of the sovereign to enforce obedience to the principles of piety, as inculcated, emphasized and enforced by Aśoka.

Aśoka's edicts fulfil almost all the thirteen purposes (*arthāḥ*) of royal writs mentioned by Kauṭilya, viz. *nindā* (condemnation), *praśamsā* (commendation), *pricchā* (interrogation), *ākhyānam* (narration), *arthunā* (beseeching), *pratyākhyānam* (refusal), *upalambha* (censure), *pratiśedha* (prohibition), *codanā* (urging), *sāntvam* (conciliation), *abhyavapatti* (promise of help), *bhartsanam* (threat), and *anunaya* (persuasion). These may be illustrated as follows:—

1. Condemnation: R.E. IX—'Womenfolk perform many and diverse, minor and meaningless rites.'
S.R.E. I—'Someone gets indeed at this, (but) he, too, does a part, not the whole of it.'
2. Commendation: R.E. I—'There are, however, certain festive gatherings approved of as good'
R.E. III—'Good is respectful attention to mother and father.'
3. Interrogation: P.E. II—*Kiyaṃ cu dhammeti?* 'What is piety?'
4. Narration: R.E. III—*Hevaṃ āha*, 'Thus said'.
5. Beseeching—S.R.I. I—'You better see to this.'
6. Refusal—S.R.I. I—'These propensities may not be mine.'
7. Censure—P.E. III—'These are the things that lead to evil.'
S.R.E. I—'You do not get as far as this matter goes.'
8. Prohibition—R.E. I—'Here no sacrifice shall be performed by immolating a living thing whatsoever, and no festive gathering held.'
9. Urging—R.E. VI—'This is to be reported to me in all places, at all times.'
10. Conciliation—S.R.E. I—'To me all men are like my progeny.'
11. Promise of help—P.E. VII—'These and many other chief officers are occupied with the dispensing of charities.'
12. Threat—R.E. XIII—'They will be ashamed of their conduct and not get killed.'
13. Persuasion—R.E. XIII—*ta pi anuneti anumijhāpeti*, 'Them, too, he entreats and persuades to think.'

According to Kauṭilya, the qualities of composition of a writ (*lekhasampat*) consist in proper arrangement of subject-matters (*arthakrama*), relevancy (*sambandha*), completeness (*paripūrṇatā*), sweetness (*mādhuryam*), dignity (*audāryam*), and lucidity or clearness (*spashtatvam*), and its faults or drawbacks (*lekhadōṣāḥ*) lie in ugliness

(*akāntiḥ*), contradiction (*vyāghātaḥ*), repetition (*punaruktam*), bad grammar (*apaśabdaḥ*), and misarrangement (*samplava*).

The first quality, called *arthakrama*, is no other than what is held out as the essential feature of a discourse of the Buddha having a good beginning, a good middle, and a good end (*ādi kalyāṇam, majjhe kalyāṇam, pariyosāne kalyāṇam*). Such texts of Aśoka as R.E. I, R.E. IV, R.E. V, R.E. VI, R.E. IX, R.E. XII, S.R.E. I, P.E. IV, P.E. V, and P.E. VII are conspicuous with this quality of presentation.

The second quality of *sambandha* is what the Buddha insisted on as *pubbāparāmusandhi*, consistency or harmonious linking of that which precedes with that which follows. Both relevancy of statements and consistency of thoughts are possessed in abundance by the texts of Aśoka. Sometimes a chain of argument on a particular question runs through consecutive texts, e.g. R.E. IX, R.E. X and R.E. XI.

The third quality of *paripūrṇatā* or completeness is just the opposite of what Aśoka regrets as *asamati* (*asamāpti*) or incompleteness (R.E. XIV). Kauṭilya's definition of completeness is fully brought out in the Pāli canonical description of the Buddha's mode of presentation of a text of Discourse: *sāḷhaṃ savyañjanam kevala-paripunṇam parisuddham brahmacariyam pakāseti*, 'It expresses an idea of unalloyed holy life through a statement, complete in all respects, replete with sense and well-articulated sounds.' The ten tests of well-articulated sounds, mentioned by Buddhaghosa, are:

*sithila-dhanilaṇ ca diḅha-rassaṃ,
lahuka-garukaṇ ca niggaḥitaṃ,
sambandham vā vavattihitaṃ vimuttaṃ,
dasadhā vyañjanabuddhiyā pabhedo ti.*

'There is maintained the tenfold distinction between high and low accents, long and short syllables, heavy and light measures, nasals, combined, properly placed and free sounds.'

The remaining three qualities of sweetness, dignity and lucidity are fully covered by those by which the Buddha sought to characterize a noble form of speech (*Brahmajāla Sutta*). *Pharusa-vācam pahāya . . . yā sā vācā neḷā kaṇṇa-sukkhā pemaṇiyā hadayaṅgamā porī bahujana-kantā bahujana-manāpā*, 'Avoiding harshness, that form of speech which is faultless, pleasant to the ears, captivating, appealing to the heart, urban, agreeable to many, charming to many'.

In this connection Buddhaghosa points out the distinction between *kaṇṇasukkhā* and *pemaṇiyā* by the sweetness of expression (*vyañjana-mādhuratā*) and the sweetness of sense (*atthamādhuratā*).

Aśoka himself claims the sweetness of sense (*athasamadhuratā*, R.E. XIV) as a distinctive quality of his edicts.

As for the sweetness of expression and winning force, Aśoka records thus his preference for a person endowed with these qualities: *c akhakhase (uphalusaṇi) acanḍe sakhinālaṃbhe hosati* (S.R.E. I), 'he who will be found to be not of harsh speech and fierce nature, but possessed of winsome cordiality'.

Kauṭilya's *agrāmya* corresponds to the Buddha's *pori*, meaning that which is urban, polite, dignified, chaste. Shama Sastri thinks that by *agrāmya* Kauṭilya banned 'colloquial words', which is far from the case. All that he meant was a language avoiding that which is uncouth, ugly, vulgar, slang.

Aśoka's texts abound with colloquialisms or current popular idioms glowing with lucidity and dignity. As for the use of colloquial words, the followers of the Buddha had a clear mandate from the Master in whose judgement it was sheer dogmatism to ban a local word or expression because it was not in vogue in another locality. There are various words, for instance, current in different localities for one and the same thing, say, 'bowl': *pāti*, *paṭṭa*, *vitṭha*, *sarāva*, *dhāropa*, *poṇa*, and *pisila*. Each man thinks that his word is the only correct form of expression, whereas each local word is as good as another, provided that it denotes to a person precisely the thing for which it is meant. In this connection, as pointed out by Winternitz (History of Indian Lit., II, p. 603) and myself (Old Brahmi Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves), the Buddha's direction is 'not to insist unduly on his own provincial dialect (*janapadanirutti*) and at the same time not to deviate from general linguistic usage' (Araṇavibhaṅga Sutta, Majjhima, III, p. 234f.). Consistently with this the Buddha disapproves the idea of putting his words in the *Chandasa* or Vedic Sanskrit, governed by the law of Metre and Rhythm, and enjoins that these should be studied by each follower 'in his own dialect' (*sakāya niruttiyā*), 'each in his own language' (Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 603; Oldenberg and Rhys Davids, S.B.E. XX, p. 150f.). Buddhaghosa understands by *sakanirutti*, 'Māgadhi, the language spoken by the Buddha', as distinguished from 101 spoken dialects of the time. If the expression were *sakāya sakāya*, there would have been no ground of dispute over the interpretation of the Buddha's injunction. But from the context, it is clear that the Buddhist brethren who were recruits from different nationalities, different communities, different castes, and different families, were apt to corrupt the Buddha's words by going to reproduce or represent them each in his own dialect (*sakāya niruttiyā Buddhavacanaṃ dūsentī*, Cullavagga, V. 33).

The intelligibility, lucidity and dignity of Aśoka's language need no comment. He was certainly aware of repetition (*punarukti*) as a defect of composition, which he has explained. As for grammatical irregularities (*apaśabdu*), we need not rigidly apply the canon of Pāṇini or the standard of Pāli in adjudicating upon the composition of Asokan texts which follows its own grammar and idiom.

As for drawbacks, Aśoka in his R.E. XIV, has offered explanations for three of them, noticed in the previously published Rock Edicts. These are: (1) the impossibility of their promulgation all over his empire on account of its vastness; (2) the repetition of the same thing over and over again, justifiable only on the ground of sweetness of its meaning; and (3) the incompleteness of the records to be accounted for either by the comprehension of local circumstances, or by the consideration of other reasons, or by the fault of the *Lipikara*. R.E. XIII was precluded, for instance, from promulgation at Tosali and Samāpā owing to its unsuitability to Kalinga. But the preclusion of R.E. XI and R.E. XII was certainly due to an error of judgement on the part of *Lipikara* in Pāṭaliputra and his instructor.

The consideration of other reasons as an explanation of incompleteness is unintelligible otherwise than on the supposition that the engraving of the Rock Edicts was thought unnecessary in those parts of his empire where he had not to reckon with ruling peoples, alien and hostile to the Indo-Aryan religion and social system.

The errors due to the fault of the *Lipikara* consist generally in omissions of a few words, clauses, or sentences, or in mis-spellings. The omissions in one copy may now be easily supplied from another, which is fuller. The spelling mistakes may be rectified by means of a comparative study of the phonetic system and orthography of the language of a particular set. The usual Gīrnār word for *iha* is *idha*, but accidentally we have *iloka* for *idhaloka* in R.E. XI. Here *iloka* is palpably a mis-spelling. In the case of Shahbazarhi, the word is *hida* (R.E. I) or *iha* (R.E. XIII), but in several edicts we get *ia*, which is undoubtedly a mis-spelling of *iha*. In discussing the phonetic distinction and orthography of each set, the philologist must beware of these minor errors due to the scribe-engraver's faults.

ANCIENT INDIAN GEOGRAPHY

By B. C. LAW

India known to the Buddhists as Jambudvīpa and to the Brahmins and Jains as Bharatavarṣa is counted as one of the seven dvīpas of the world. It was one of the nine varṣas or countries constituting the nine main divisions. Jambudvīpa figures in ancient literature as one of the four main continents with Sineru (Sumeru) in the centre. The eastern continent (Pūbbavideha) is placed to the east of Sineru, the western continent (Aparagoyāna) to the west, the northern continent (Uttarakuru) to the north and the southern continent (Jambudvīpa) to the south.

Videha was the name of the place in Jambudvīpa where the people coming originally from Pūbbavideha settled down. Aparānta was the name of the land which was settled down by the people coming originally from Aparagodāna or Aparagoyāna and the land where the people from Uttarakuru settled down became known as Kuru.¹

The Sineru mountain is located in the middle of the nine varṣas of Jambudvīpa (seven according to the Jaina source, Jambudīva-pannatti). To the south of Ilāvṛtavarṣa is the Niṣadha mountain range, and to the south of it is Hārivarṣa, the country lying just to the north of Bhāratavarṣa. In between the two is the Himalayan mountain. The Himalayan range extends east and west over a distance of about 1,600 leagues. The slope of this range is like that of a bow with its string to the south.² The Himalayan range is divided into greater Himalaya and lesser Himalaya. The former extends eastwards up to the Bay of Bengal and the latter westwards and then southwards up to the sea below the Varṣadhara mountain, i.e. the Arabian Sea.

India is pictured in the Buddhist literature in the shape of a bullock-cart with its face towards the south. It is extended on the north.³ The surface of India is one of the convex shape of the upper shell of a tortoise according to the Brāhmaṇa literature.⁴ According to the Jaina account the Vindhya mountain range divides India into two halves, the northern half later called Āryāvarta and the southern half later called Dākṣiṇātya or Deccan.⁵

¹ Papañcasūdanī, i, 484; Dhammapada Commentary, ii, 482.

² Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Chapter XIX.

³ Dīgha Nikāya, ii, p. 235.

⁴ Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Chapters 57 and 58.

⁵ Jambudīva-Pannatti, i, 12.

The Himalayan mountain which is also known as Himavanta, Himācala or Himavā is one of the seven mountain ranges that surround Gandhamādana.¹ According to the traditional description, it extends over a distance of 300,000 leagues and contains 84,000 peaks, the highest of them being 500 leagues. Here the length, the number and the altitude are fabulous. We have mention of seven great Himalayan lakes, e.g. Anotatta, Kamamunda, Rathakāra, Chaddanta, Kunāla, Mandākinī, and Sihappapāta. Each of them is 50 leagues in length, breadth and depth. These lakes cannot be identified and the description of their length, breadth and depth seems to be mythical. According to the Buddhist account there were five hundred rivers, only ten of which were to be reckoned, the rest having an intermittent periodical flow.² Of the ten rivers the first five, e.g. Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Aciravati, Sarabhū and Mahī, formed the Ganges group and the rest, Sindhu, Sarasvatī, Vetravati, Vitamśā and Candrabhāgā, with the exception of the second, constituted the Sindhu group. Generally speaking, the first five flowed from the greater Himalaya and other five from the lesser range.

The Buddhists derive the name of the continent of Jambudvīpa from a Jambu tree³ which seems to be imaginary. It is on account of this tree that the continent is also called Jambuvana and Jambusandha.⁴ The continent extends over a distance of 10,000 leagues, of which 4,000 are covered by the seas, 3,000 by the Himalayas, and 3,000 only are inhabited by men. It contained as many as 84,000 towns.⁵ According to the Buddhist account⁶ the number of parks, groves, lakes, etc. in Jambudvīpa is trifling while numerous were the unfordable rivers, inaccessible mountains, etc.

According to the Jaina account the Bhāratavarṣa, which is situated to the south of the Himalayas and between the eastern and western seas, abounds in rivers, lakes, hills, dales, forests, trees, creepers, etc. It appears from the north like a bedstead and from the south like a bow. It is divided into six portions.⁷

The origin of the Ganges is traced to a lake called Bindusara which is situated in the middle of the three peaks, Kailāsa, Maināka and Hiraṇyāśṛṅga.⁸ According to the Jaina account it is connected with a flow through the eastern outlet of a great lake in the lesser Himalayan range called Mahāpadmahrada and that of Sindhu with a flow through its western outlet. The description of the lake

¹ Paramatthajotikā, ii, 66.

³ Vinaya, i, p. 30; Samantapāsādikā, i, p. 119.

⁴ Sutta Nipāta, V, 552; Paramatthajotikā, ii, p. 121.

⁵ Cf. Jātaka, iv, p. 84.

⁷ Jambudvīpa-Paṇṇatti, i, 9.

² Milinda, p. 114.

⁶ Aṅguttara, i, p. 35.

⁸ Mahābhārata, 6, 43, 44.

with four outlets is similar to the Buddhist account of the lake Anotatta to which it refers the origin of the five great rivers flowing eastwards. Anotatta, too, is like the Jainapadmahrada, a lotus lake with four outlets on its four sides, from each of which flows a river. The four rivers that flow, according to the Jaina account, from the four outlets of the lotus lake are Gaṅgā, Sindhu, Rohitā and Harikāntā.¹

The five rivers Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Aciravatī, Sarabhū and Mahī have originated from the Anotatta lake.² The river which flows out through the south channel encircles the lake three times under the name of Āvaṭṭa-gaṅgā, then as Kaṇha-gaṅgā it flows straight for 60 leagues along the surface of a rock, comes into violent contact with a vertical rock and is thrown upwards as a column of water. This column known as Ākāśa-gaṅgā flows through the air for 60 leagues, falls on to the rock Tiyaggala excavating it to a depth of 50 leagues, thus forming a lake which is called Tiyaggala tank; then the river under the name of Bahala-gaṅgā flows through a chasm in the rock for 60 leagues, then under the name of Ummagga-gaṅgā,³ through a tunnel for a further 60 leagues and finally coming upon an oblique rock, divides into five streams forming the five rivers.

The name of Bhāratavarṣa is derived from King Bharata whose sovereignty was established over it.⁴ The six divisions in northern India and three divisions in southern, eastern, and western and middle are all internal divisions of India proper. The nine parts of Varāha-Mihira conforming to the centre and eight of the ten points of the compass: eastern, southern, western, northern, south-eastern, south-western, north-western and north-eastern are all internal. The nine divisions in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa are all internal.

The system of classification adopted in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa is as follows: (1) those belonging to the middle country; (2) those to northern region; (3) those to eastern India; (4) those to Deccan; (5) those to western India; (6) those to Vindhyā region; and (7) those which are mountainous.⁵ The Mahābhārata⁶ refers to eastern, northern, southern, western and the mountainous regions. According to Hiuen Tsang, the five traditional divisions of India are enumerated thus: northern, southern, eastern, western and

¹ Jambudīva-Pannatti, iv, 34, 35.

² Papañcasūdanī, Sinhalese Ed., ii, p. 586; Manorathapūraṇī, ii, pp. 759-60; Paramatthajotikā, ii, pp. 437-9.

³ Cf. Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, p. 253.

⁴ Mahābhārata, Bhīṣmaparva, iii, 41.

⁵ Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Chap. 57.

⁶ Bhīṣmaparva, Chap. 9.

central.¹ The *Bhuvanakoṣa* of the *Purāṇas* mentions the following divisions: middle country, northern, eastern, Deccan, and western. According to *Rājaśekhara*,² to the east of Benares is the eastern India, to the south of *Māhiṣmatī* is the Deccan, to the west of *Devasabhā* is the western India. To the north (better north-west) is the northern (better north-western) India. And the tract lying between *Vinaśana* and *Prayāga* and between the *Ganges* and *Junna* is the Inland (same as midland or middle country).

Cunningham explains the geographical significance of *Hiuen Tsang's* 'Five Indies' in the following manner: (1) northern India comprising the Punjab proper including Kashmir and the adjoining Hill States with the whole of eastern Afghanistan beyond the Indus and the present Cis-Sutlej States to the west of the *Sarasvatī* river; (2) western India, Sind and western Rajputana with Cutch and Gujrat and a portion of the adjoining coast on the lower course of the *Narmadā* river; (3) central India, the whole of the Gangetic provinces from *Thāncswar* to the head of the Delta and from the Himalayan mountains to the banks of the *Narmadā*; (4) eastern India, Assam and Bengal proper including the whole of the Gangetic Delta together with *Sambalpur*, *Orissa* and *Ganjam*; and (5) southern India, the whole of the peninsula from *Nāsik* on the west and *Ganjam* on the east to *Cape Comorin* on the south including the modern districts of *Berar* and *Teliṅgāna*, *Mahārāṣṭra* and the *Konkan* with the separate States of *Hyderabad*, *Mysore* and *Travancore*, or very nearly the whole of the peninsula to the south of the *Narmadā* and the *Mahānadī* rivers.

According to the Buddhist account the broad divisions of India are six in number, e.g. (1) middle country (*Madhyudeśa*),³ (2) Himalayan region (*Himavanta*),⁴ (3) north-western region (*Uttarāpatha*),⁵ (4) Deccan (*Dakṣhināpatha*),⁶ (5) eastern India (*Pubbanta*), and (6) western India (*Aparānta*).

The early Buddhist literature mentions the sixteen great countries of India, *Kāśī*, *Kośala*, *Aṅga*, *Magadha*, *Vajjī*, *Malla*, *Ceti*, *Vamsa*, *Kuru*, *Pañcāla*, *Maccha*, *Śūrasena*, *Assaka*, *Avantī*, *Gandhāra*, and *Kāmbhoja*,⁷ each named after the people who settled there or colonized it. The first fourteen are included in the middle country and the last two in the northern India. The Jaina literature gives a somewhat different list of sixteen containing *Aṅga*,

¹ Beal, *Records*, i, p. 70; Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, p. 136.

² *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, p. 93.

³ *Vinaya*, i, p. 197; *Jātaka*, i, pp. 49-80

⁴ *Mahāvamsa*, xii, 41.

⁵ *Vinaya*, iii, p. 6; *Samantapāsādikā*, i, p. 175.

⁶ *Vinaya*, i, 195-96.

⁷ *Anguttara*, i, p. 213; iv, pp. 251, 256 and 260.

Vaṅga, Magadha, Malaya, Mālava, Accha, Vaccha, Koccha, Pāḍha, Lāḍha, Vajji, Moli (Malla), Kāśi, Kośala, Avaha and Sambhuttara.

Middle country: The middle country has been described in Baudhāyana's Dharmasūtra as lying to the east of the region where the river Sarasvatī disappears, to the west of the Black forest,¹ to the north of the Paripātra mountain and to the south of the Himalayas.² The eastern boundary excluded not only Bengal but also Behar which in ancient days included the whole of Magadhan country, the Buddhist land *par excellence*. The middle country, according to Manu, extends from the Himalayas in the north to the Vindhya in the south and from Vinasāna in the west to Prayāg in the east. It is otherwise known as Inland which extends up to Benares in the east. According to an early Buddhist text³ it extends in the east to the town of Kajaṅgala⁴ beyond which was the city of Mahāsālā, in the south-east to the river Sarasvatī, in the south to the town of Śetakaṇṇika, in the west to the Brahmin district of 'Thūna,⁵ and in the north to the Uśira-dhvaja mountain.⁶ The eastern boundary is extended till further so as to include Puṇḍavardhana, which in ancient times included Varendra roughly identical with north Bengal.

Thus we see that the definition of the middle country was not the same at all times and with all the authorities. According to Manu, middle country is a tract between Vinasāna and Prayāg while in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa it extends so far east as to include Kāśi and Kośala. The list of six principal cities in an early Buddhist text⁷: Campā, Rājagaha, Sāvattihī, Sāketa, Kosambī and Bārāṇasī, suggests an extension which included Kāśi, Kośala and Vatsa in the west but excluded Avantī and Śūrasena. These two countries have been expressly excluded from the middle country according to the Vinaya Piṭaka, an early Buddhist text.

The seven representative rivers of this division are mentioned in one list as Bāhukā, Adhikakkā, Gayā, Sundarikā, Sarassatī, Payāga, and Bāhumatī⁸ and in another list as Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sarabhū, Sarassatī, Aciravatī, Mahī, and Mahānadi.⁹ The Doṇa

¹ Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, li and xli, f n. 1.

² Baudhāyana, i, 1, 2, 9, etc.

³ Vinaya Piṭaka, Vol. V, pp. 12-13.

⁴ Identical with Ka-Chu-Wen-Kilo of Yuan Chwang which lay at a distance of above 400 li east from Campā. Cf. Sumāṅgalavilāsini, ii, 429 and Jātaka, iii, 226-27 and iv, p. 310.

⁵ Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, Intro. xliii, f.n. 2.

⁶ It may be said to be identical with Uśiragiri, a mountain to the north of Kankhal, I.A., 1905, 179.

⁷ Dīgha, ii, 146.

⁸ Jātaka, v, p. 389.

⁹ Visuddhimagga, i, p. 10.

and Tīmbaru are mentioned along with the Bāhukā and Gayā.¹ Bāhukā is evidently the same river as Vāhudā in the Mahābhārata² which the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa connects with the Himalayas along with Gaṅgā and Yamunā.³ The Adhikakkā remains yet to be identified. The Gayā is no other than Phalgu river forming just a united flow of the Nerañjarā of Buddhist fame and the Mahānadī (Mohanā) of Brahmanical fame. The Sundarikā was a sacred river in Kośala. The Sarassatī is identified with famous Sarasvatī which taking its rise in the Himalayas disappears at Vinasāna. The Payāga must have represented the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā at Prayāg. The Bhāgīrathī-gaṅgā flowed through Pañcāla dividing it into northern and southern Kampilla, the capital of the latter standing on its right bank. The Yamunā served as a boundary between Śūrasena and Kośala and further down, between Vamsa and Kośala; Madhurā, the capital of Śūrasena and Kosambī standing on its right bank. The Sarabhū is to be identified with Sarayū on the left bank of which stands Ayodhyā, the ancient capital of north Kośala. The Aciravatī is modern Rapti on the right bank of which stood Śrāvastī, the last capital of Kośala.⁴ The Mahī is a tributary of the Ganges.

The Mahā-gaṅgā was either the confluence of the Nerañjarā and the Mahānadī or the Sone river.⁵ To the east beyond Prayāga the united flow of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā bore the name of Gaṅgā which formed a boundary between the kingdoms of Kāśī and Magadha. Further down it formed a boundary between Videha and Vesālī on the north and Magadha,⁶ Aṅga, and Kajaṅgala on the south, on the right bank of which stand Pāṭalīputra, the last capital of Magadha, and Campā, the capital of Aṅga. The Anoinā, Rohiṇī and Kakutthā were the three minor rivers of the middle country. The first river formed a boundary between the territories of the Śakyas and the Mallas, the second river divided the Śākya and Koliya territories.⁷ Cunningham identifies the river Rohiṇī with the Rowai or Rohwaini, a small stream which joins the Rapti at Gorakhpur.⁸ The third river called Kakutthā was a river near Kuśīnārā⁹ which appears to have formed at one point at least a boundary between the two Malla territories. The river Campā formed a boundary between Aṅga in the east and Magadha in the

¹ Jātaka, v, p. 388f.

² iii, 84, 67.

³ Chap. 57.

⁴ Law, Śrāvastī in Indian Literature, p. 9.

⁵ Manorathapūraṇī (Sinhalese Ed.), ii, p. 761f.

⁶ Majjhima Nikāya, Vatthūpamasutta.

⁷ Jātaka, v, p. 412.

⁸ Archaeological Survey of India, xii, 190f.

⁹ Dīgha, ii, 129, 134f.; Udāna, viii, 5.

west.¹ It is probably the same river as one to the west of Campānagar and Nathnagar in the suburb of the town of Bhagalpur. The Kośikī (Kuśī) is a branch of the Ganges.² The Migasammata was a river which rising in the Himalayas flowed into the Ganges.³ The Hiraññavatī is the little Gandak and the same as Ajitavatī near Kuśīnārā which flows through the district of Gorakhpur about eight miles west of the great Gandak and falls into the Ghogra (Sarayū). The Sappinī (modern Pañcāna) was a small stream at Rājagaha. The Sutanu was a small stream at Śrāvastī which must have fallen into the Aciravatī. The Sarāvatī or Saraṇavatī, probably modern Suvarṇarekhā formed the south-east boundary of the middle country. The Vetravatī (modern Betwā in Bhopal) is an affluent of the Yamunā on the bank of which stood the city of Vetravatī, and further south-west stands Bhilsā or ancient Vidiśā.⁴

The Gayāśīsa, the principal hill of Gayā, is the modern Brahma-yoni and identical with what is called Gayāśira in the Purāṇas. Its shape is like that of an elephant and hence it is so called.⁵ The Mahābhārata speaks of twenty-five hills of Gayā including the Gayāśira but the early Buddhist texts ignore all but the Gayāśīsa. The hills called Prāgbodhi by Hiuen Tsang⁶ on the other side of the Gayā river are vaguely referred to.

A set of hills under the name of Khalatika finds mention in the Mahābhārata, Barabar Hill Cave Inscriptions of Aśoka and Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya.⁷ There were five hills encircling the city of Rājagaha named Isigili, Vebhāra, Paṇḍava, Vepulla and Gijjhakūṭa.⁸ The Vebhāra and Paṇḍava stood side by side. The Vipula is the same as Vaihāravipula.

The Jains following a much later tradition of their own name locate the seven hills thus: 'If one enters Rājgīr from the north, the hill lying to the right is Vaibhāragiri; that lying to the left is Vipulagiri; the one which stands at right angles to the Vipula and runs southward parallel to the Vaibhāra is Ratnagiri; the one forming the eastern extension of the Ratnagiri is Chathāgiri; and the hill standing next to Chathāgiri is Śailagiri. The one opposite to the Chathāgiri is Udayagiri; that lying to the south of Ratnagiri and the west of the Udayagiri is Soṇagiri. The Vaibhāragiri extends southward and westward ultimately to form the western entrance of Rājgīr with the Soṇagiri.'⁹

¹ Jātaka, iv, 454.

² *Ibid.*, vi, 72.

³ Sāratthappakāsinī, iii, 4.

⁴ I. 2. 2.

⁵ Law, Rājagriha in Ancient Literature, p. 3.

⁶ *Ibid.*, v, 2, 5, 6.

⁷ *Ibid.*, iv, 388.

⁸ Beal, Buddhist Records, ii, 114.

⁹ Majjhima, iii, 68f.

The Kālasilā was a black rock on a side of Isigili and there was an echoing peak called Patibhānakūṭa. The Indakūṭa was near Gijjhakūṭa. The Vedyaka hill has been identified by Cunningham with the Giriyak, containing the famous cave called Indasālaguhā.¹ The group of five Rājgīr hills formed, as it now forms, the head and the Vedyaka, the tail of one and the same short range running from west to east over a distance of nine miles from Rājgīr to the village of Giriyak.

The Vepulla mountain was known in a very remote age by the name of Pācina-Vamsa. The name of this hill was changed to Vaṅkaka. The hill then received the name of Supassa. It afterwards became known as Vepulla.²

With the Pi-pu-lo (Vipula or better Vaihāra-Vipula) hill to the west of the north gate of Rājagaha, Hiuen Tsang associated five hundred hot springs of which several scores, some cold, some tepid, remained at his time. The source of them was traced to the Anotatta Lake.³ The Vaibhāragiri is described in a Jaina text as a sacred hill affording the possibility of the formation of Kuṇḍas of tepid and cold water. The hot springs are mentioned in connection with Rājagaha while Buddhaghosa, a Buddhist commentator, definitely refers them to the Vebhāra hills.⁴

The Pippali or Pippali and Sattapaṇṇi caves are associated with the Vebhāra hill. Both of them were situated on the north side of this hill. There were crevices, four of which were important.⁵ The Pāsāṇakacetiya was a holy rock not far from Rājagaha.⁶

There were some natural forests and hill tracts in the middle country. The Kurujāṅgala was a wild region in the Kuru realm which in all likelihood separated the Kuru realm from Pañcāla. The Pāṇḍeyyakavana was an elephant forest at some distance from the city of Kauśāmbī and on the way to Śrāvastī.⁷ The Añjanavana at Sāketa, the Mahāvana at Vesālī and the Mahāvana at Kapilavatthu were natural forests. The Lumbinīvana, a village in the time of Aśoka, situated on the bank of the river Rohiṇī, was a similar forest.⁸ The Sālavana of the Mallas at Kuśinārā, the Bhesakalāvana at Sumsumāragira in the realm of the Bhaggas, the Simsapāvana at Kosambī and the one near Ālavī and the Pippalivana of the Moriyas may be cited as typical examples of natural forests.⁹ Similarly Kajaṅgala which lay to the east of Aṅga and extended

¹ Digha, ii, 263; Sumaṅgalavilāsini, iii, 697.

² Watters, Yuan Chwang, ii, 153-54.

³ Udāna, iv, 4; Law, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

⁴ Samyutta, iii, 95; Vinaya, i, 352.

⁵ Jātaka, i, 52f; Manorathapūraṇi, i, 10.

⁶ Digha, ii, 146f; Majjhima, i, 95; ii, 91; Samyutta, v, 437; Digha, ii, 164f.

⁷ Samyutta, ii, 190f.

⁸ Sāratthappakāsinī, i, p. 38.

⁹ Sutta Nipāta, verse 1013.

from the Ganges in the north-east to the Suvarṇarekhā in the south-east was an extensive hill tract. The Vinjhāṭavi which was then a forest without any human habitation represented the forest through which lay the way from Pāṭaliputra to Tāmralipti.¹

Besides the natural forests, there were innumerable private and royal gardens. The Migadāya at Isipatana near Benares, the one at Maddakucchi in Rājagaha and that at Bhesakaḷavana were the three notable deer-parks. Besides the tanks and wells, there were several pools in the middle country though none of them was so very important as to find mention by name.

It is interesting to deal with the realms visited by the Buddha in the middle country. They were Kuru and Pañcāla in the west and north-west, Vamsa in the west and south-west, Kāśī and Kośala in the middle, the Śākya and Koliya in the north, the Vajji and Malla in the east and north-east, and Aṅga, Magadha and Kajaṅgala in the east and south-east. The Buddhist Midland may be shown to have constituted the upper Gangetic valley between the Himalayas in the north and the Vindhya range in the south. Within the area some such small tracts as the Rāmagāma of the Koliyas, the Pippalivana of the Moriyas, the Allakappa of the Bulis, the realm of the Bhaggas² and the Kesaputta of the Kālāmas³ have been included. According to an early Buddhist text the kingdom of King Reṇu was divided into seven separate kingdoms with their respective capitals as mentioned below: (1) Kaliṅga—capital, Dantapura; (2) Assaka—capital, Potana; (3) Avantī—capital, Māhissatī; (4) Sovira—capital, Roruka; (5) Videha—capital, Mithilā; (6) Aṅga—capital, Campā; and (7) Kāśī—capital, Bārāṇasī.⁴ The last three of these were included in the middle country.

Kuru kingdom: This kingdom extended from the Sarasvatī to the Ganges and consisted of three parts, viz. Kurujāṅgala, the Kuru land proper and Kurukṣetra.⁵ The people originally coming from Uttarakuru colonized it. The Kurujāṅgala was a jungle tract of the Kuru land which extended as far as the Kāmyaka forest. The kingdom of Uttara Pañcāla was founded in this part of Kuru kingdom, in which case it must have stood on the left bank of the Bhāgirathī-gaṅgā. The kingdom proper had Hastināpura for its capital,⁶ Indraprastha, near modern Delhi according to the Jātakas.⁷ This kingdom was 300 leagues in extent and its capital 700 leagues in circumference. Kurukṣetra is located to the

¹ Mahāvamsa, xix, 6; Dipavamsa, xvi, 2; Samantapāsādikā, iii, 655.

² Dīgha, ii, 164f.

³ Aṅguttara, i, p. 188.

⁴ Dīgha, ii, 220f.

⁵ Mahābhārata, i, 109, 1.

⁶ Divyāvadāna, p. 435.

⁷ Jātaka, v, pp. 57, 484; vi, 255.

north of Khāṇḍava, to the south of 'Tūrghna and to the east of the Parīṇa.¹ While according to the Mahābhārata it is placed to the south of the Sarasvatī and north of the Drśadvatī between the lakes of Rāma and Macakruka.² There were two townships in the Kuru kingdom named as Kammāsadamna and 'Thullakoṭṭhita.³ The first town was a training ground of draught-horses and the second town was so called because its granaries were always full.⁴ There was another wealthy, famous and beautiful town in the Kuru kingdom named Isukāra.⁵

Pañcāla: The Bhāgīrathī formed the dividing line between the Uttara and Dakṣiṇa Pañcāla. The northern Pañcāla had its capital at Ahicchatra⁶ identified with modern Ramnagar in the Bareilly district. The capital of Dakṣiṇa Pañcāla was Kāmpilya identical with modern Kampil in the Farukhabad district.

Vaṃsa: This country called Vatsabhūmi in the Mahābhārata (II, 30) was about 6,000 li in circuit and its capital Kauśāmbī was about 30 li. According to Hsuen Tsang it was a fertile country with a hot climate. It yielded much upland rice and sugar-cane. Its people were enterprising, fond of arts, and cultivators of religious merit.⁷ The inhabitants of this country are criticized as rude and rough.⁸ This country was very rich and prosperous and its cotton fabrics were of a very high quality.⁹ Cunningham identifies the capital Kauśāmbī with the present village of Kosam on the right bank of the Jumna. The present distance by road of about 100 miles from Benares to Kosam is the distance of 13 yojanas as suggested by Fā-Hian.¹⁰ According to Hsuen Tsang the way from Prayāga to Kauśāmbī lay through a jungle and bare plains covering seven days' journey on foot. Kosam is about 30 miles from Allahabad across the fields and 137 miles by road above the Yamunā. The village of Pabhosā is situated at a distance of about two and half miles north-east of Kosam. At Kauśāmbī there were two famous gardens known as Ghositārāma and Pāvārikambavana.¹¹ There was a reserve forest of Pārileyaka in Vatsa the way to which from Kauśāmbī lay through two villages. Pārileyaka stood on a road

¹ Vedic Index, I, 169f.

² III, 83, 204.

³ Digha, ii, pp. 55, 290; Majjhima, i, pp. 55, 501; ii, p. 54; Manorathapūraṇi, i, p. 144.

⁴ Papañcasūdanī, ii, 722; Avadānaśataka, ii, 118.

⁵ Uttarādhyaṇa, xiv, 1.

⁶ Mahābhārata, Ādi Parva, Chap. 140.

⁷ Watters, *op. cit.*, i, 366.

⁸ Lefmann, *Lalitavistara*, p. 21.

⁹ Aṅguttara, iv, 252, 256 and 260; Arthaśāstra by Shama Śāstrī, tr., p. 94.

¹⁰ Watters. *op. cit.*, i. 367.

from Kauśāmbī to Śrāvastī.¹ An early Buddhist text refers to a journey on foot from Kauśāmbī to Adhogariga hill.²

Bhagga: The country of the Bhaggas became a dependency of Vatsa with Sumsumāragira as its chief town.³ The location of Bhagga is not settled although some place it between Vaiśālī and Śrāvastī.

Ceti kingdom: The country of the Ceti lay near the Yamunā. It may approximately be identified with the modern Bundelkhand and adjoining region. Sotthivatī, probably identical with the Suktimatī of the Mahābhārata, is mentioned as its capital.⁴ Sahajāti, a town of Ceti, probably stood on the right bank of the Yamunā. There was a deer park in the Pācinavaṃsa, which lay to the east of Vatsa. There was a Ceta kingdom situated 30 yojanas from the Jetuttaranagara through which lay a way to the Himalayan region.⁵

Kāśī: This is one of the most ancient kingdoms in northern India with Bārānasi as its capital, 12 yojanas in extent.⁶ The city of Benares stood, as it now does, on the left bank of the Ganges and was known by different names in different ages. The city derived its name from Asi and Baruṇā, the two small streams bounding it on the south and the north respectively. The country was noted as a great centre of trade, most populous and prosperous. One highway connected it with Rājagṛha and another with Śrāvastī. It was noted for silk cloth and perfumes. Kīṭāgiri is mentioned as one of the notable places. It was a very fertile tract with abundance of rain-water enabling it to yield three harvests of food grains. The most important place near Benares in the history of Buddhism is the deer park at Rṣipatana (modern Sarnāth) which was the place of Buddha's enlightenment and situated at a distance of three or four miles to the north of the modern city of Benares. The ancient city of Benares was a great centre of trade and industry and trade relations existed between it and Śrāvastī and Takṣaśilā.⁷

Kośala: The country of Kośala proper was divided into north and south evidently by the river Śarayū serving as a wedge between them. Śrāvastī was the capital of northern Kośala and Kuśāvati was the capital of southern Kośala, Ayodhyā being the earlier capital of the undivided kingdom. Some have located Kuśāvati at the foot of the Vindhya. Sāketa has been mentioned in some early Buddhist texts⁸ as the capital of northern Kośala. It is said to have stood on a high road between Śrāvastī and Kauśāmbī.

¹ Saṃyutta, iii, 95; Udāna, iv, 5; Majjhima, i, 320. ² Vinaya Cullavagga, xii.

³ Majjhima, i, 332; Aṅguttara, ii, p. 61; Vinaya, ii, 127.

⁴ iii, 22-50; xiv, 83. 2.

⁵ Ibid., vi, 160.

⁶ Jātaka, vi, 514f.

⁷ Dhammapada Commentary, i, 123; iii, 429.

⁸ Jātaka, iii, 270; Mahāvastu, i, 348.

Śrāvastī was so called either because it was founded near the hermitage of the sage Savatthi or because of its great prosperity as a city. It stood on the right bank of the Acinavati river (modern Rapti). The great trade route from Rājagṛha to Śrāvastī branched off into two roads, one the southern road (better south-western) and the other northern road (better north-western), each lending its name to the region through which it lay. There were several towns in Kośala, e.g. Ukkaṭṭha, Naṅgaraka, Medaḷumpa, Paṅkadhā, Nālakapāna, Daṇḍakappa, Setavyā.¹ There were some Brahmin villages, e.g. Manasākata, Ekasālā, Nagaravinda, Techānaṅgala, Venāgapura and Opasāda. As for other localities mention may be made of Palāsavana, Toranavatthu, Nālandā, and Caṇḍalakappa.² At the south gate of Śrāvastī and within a distance of about 2 miles from it was the famous garden of Prince Jeta; at its east gate lay the site of the Pubbārāma and in its neighbourhood stood the grove of Queen Mallikā.³ Saravana is mentioned as the birth-place of Gosāla. The Sundarikā, probably not far from Śrāvastī, was a sacred river in Kośala. The river Sadānirā (modern Gaṇḍaki) formed a boundary in the east between Kośala and Videha.

Magadha: The kingdom of Magadha roughly corresponding to the modern Patna and Gaya districts of Behar was broadly divided into two, Gayā and Magadha. Magadha is distinctly called by the Jains as Māgahatitthakhetta. The Gauges formed a natural dividing line between Kāśī on the west and Magadha on the east as well as between Magadha on the south and Videha and Vaiśālī on the north. The river Campā (modern Chandan) formed a boundary on the east side between Magadha and Aṅga. Gorathagiri stood just on the border-land of Magadha towards Gayā. The Gayā proper comprised three divisions, all located along the left bank of the Nerañjarā and the Gayā river: Uruvelā, Nadi, and Gayā. The Gayā division contained twenty-five hills of which the Gayāsīra (modern Brahmayoni hill) was the main. The hills of Gayā formed the head of a very old range of hills with its navel at Yajpur in Orissa, and southern extremity at Mahendragiri. The distance by road from Gayā to Uruvelā (Bodh-Gayā) was six or seven miles. The Uruvelā division on the bank of the Nerañjarā contained Senānigāma (identified with the modern village of Urel) and Nala which was the native village of Buddhaghosa, the celebrated Buddhist commentator. According to Hiuen Tsang, Uruvelā extended north and east 14 or 15 li at least from a point near the base of the

¹ Digha, i, 87; Majjhima, ii; Aṅguttara, iii, 402; *Ibid.*, v, 122; i, 236.

² Saṃyutta, iv, 374; Majjhima, ii, 209; Saṃyutta, iv, 322.

³ Sumaṅgalavilāsini, ii, 365.

Gayāśīrṣa hill on the other side of the Phalgu. In its southern extension it was outskirted by an extensive jungle tract of Vaṅka-hāra country (roughly identical with Hazaribagh district). The way from Gayā to Benares lay through such localities as Gandhapura, Aparagayā, Sārathipura on the right bank of the Ganges. The earlier capital of Magadha was Rājagṛha also known as Girivraja or Kuśāgrapura. There was a precipice called Corapapāta down which the thieves were thrown. There was a bamboo forest on a road between Rājagṛha and Uruvelā. The other localities of importance were Veluvana, Jīvaka's mango grove, Bimbisāra's mango grove, Pāvārika's mango grove at Nālandā (identified with the present village of Burgaon). There was a famous Brahmin village called Dakṣiṇagiri. There were other villages, e.g. Nālaka, Siddhatthagāma.¹ The Jains lay the scene of Mahāvīra's death at Pāvāpurī on the Bihar Sarif-Nawadah Road. The village of Pātaliḡāma stood on the right bank of the Ganges. This village having been fortified gave rise to the city of Pātaliḡputra, the later capital of Magadha which suffered thrice from the action of water, fire, and earthquake.² Some have located Rājagṛha at a distance of 5 leagues from the Ganges.

Āṅga: The kingdom of Āṅga was 4,000 li in extent according to Hiuen Tsang and it lay to the east of Magadha separated from the latter by the river Campā. On the north it was bounded by the Ganges. Āṅga as described in the Mahābhārata may be supposed to have comprised the districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr. Its capital was Campā on the right bank of the Ganges, formerly known as Mālinī³ which stood at a distance of 60 yojanas from Mithilā.⁴ Bhaddiya and Assapura were the two cities in Āṅga. Āpaṇa is mentioned as a township in Āṅguttarāpa, a tract which lay to the north of Mahī, evidently a part of Āṅga, on the other side of that river.⁵ Āṅga was a prosperous country and Campā was one of the most flourishing cities and a great centre of trade and commerce. In its neighbourhood there was a famous tank called Gaggārā.⁶

Kajāṅgala: This country formed an eastern boundary of the middle country beyond the Brahmin village of Mahāsāla. According to Hiuen Tsang this country was 2,000 li in circuit and was bounded on the north by the Ganges. The kingdom of Puṇḍravardhana could be reached from its capital by journeying about 600 li eastward across the Ganges. It was a prosperous place where food was

easily available. There was a bamboo grove in this country and there was a river called Salaṣavatī in the south-east.

Sumbha: This was a country of the Sumbhas with Setaka as its capital. Some have identified it with Suhma (modern Midnapore district) but the location is uncertain.

Vajjī territory: It appears to have comprised the principalities of eight or nine confederate clans. Vesālī or Besārī was the headquarters of the Licchavis. It was rich, prosperous and populous. It was surrounded by three walls at the distance of a *gāvuta* from one another, each provided with gates and watch towers. The early Jaina texts mention Kuṇḍagrāma, the seat of the power of the Nātas, in the suburb of Vaiśālī.¹ The country of the Bhaggas is placed between Vaiśālī and Śrāvastī. Videha (modern Tirhut) was bounded by the Kośikī in the east, the Ganges in the south, the Sadāurā in the west and the Himalayas in the north. Cunningham identifies Mithilā with Janakapur. The high road connecting Rājagṛha with Kapilavastu passed through such places as Koṭigāma on the left bank of the Ganges, Hatthigāma, Ambagāma, Vesālī, Nādikā, etc. There was a natural forest called Mahāvana in the neighbourhood of Vesālī.² Ukkācelā was a Vajjian town on the left bank of the Ganges.³ Mithilā, the capital of Videha, had at each of its four gates a market town.⁴

Malla country: The kingdom of the Mallas,⁵ which are stated to be nine according to the early Buddhist texts, comprised in theory nine territories, one of each of the confederate clans. The two territories of the Mallas are prominent, one with its headquarters at Kuśinārā and the other with Pāvā as its chief town. The first abutted on the Śākya territory and the second on the Vajjī. Bhoganagara was a Malla town between Jambugāma and Pāvā on the high road connecting Vaiśālī and Kapilavastu.⁶ The river Kakutthā formed the boundary between the two territories. The Śāla grove of Kuśinārā was on the river Hiraññavatī. In ancient times Kuśinārā was the most flourishing and magnificent city of Kuśāvati, 12 leagues in length from east to west and 7 leagues in breadth from north to south.⁷ Anupiya was a Malla town on the high road between Kuśinārā and the river Anomā.⁸ Uruvelakappa was another Malla town. Pāvā may probably be identified with the Kasia on the smaller Gaṇḍak and Kuśinārā with the village called Padaraona, 12 miles north-east of Kasia. Hiuen Tsang

¹ Ācārāṅgasūtra, S.B.E., xxii, pp. x-xi.

² Majjhima, i, 225; Samyutta, iv, 261f.

³ Kalpasūtra, 128; Nirayāvalī sūtra.

⁴ Dīgha, ii, 123; Sutta Nipāta, vv. 1012-1013.

⁵ Jātaka, i, 140; Dīgha, iii, p. 1; Vinaya, ii, 180, 184.

⁶ Sumaṅgalavilāsini, i, 309.

⁷ Jātaka, vi, 330.

⁸ Dīgha, ii, 146f.

travelled from Kuśīnārā to Benares covering a distance of 500 li through a great forest.¹

Śākya and Koliya territories: The Śākya country lay to the east of Kośala and south of the Himalayas. It was then rich and prosperous.² Kapilavastu (identified with Tilaura, 2 miles from Tauliva in the Nepal Terai) was the capital of the Śākyas. According to Hiuen Tsang the city was situated to the south-east of Śrāvastī. It was situated on the high road which passed through Setavyā to connect it with Śrāvastī. There were other Śākya towns, e.g. Silavatī, Sāmagāma, Cātumā, and Khomadussa.

The Koliyas of Devadaha and Rāmagāma possessed two territories. On the bank of the Rohiṇī river on the Śākya side stood Lumbinivana, the birth-place of Buddha, the modern village of Rummindei, only 10 miles to the east of Kapilavastu and 2 miles to the north of Bhagavānpur. The river Rohiṇī divided the territories of the Śākyas and the Koliyas. Devadaha on the other side of the Rohiṇī was the seat of government of the first Koliyan territory. Rāmagāma, the second Koliyan territory, lay to the east of Kapilavastu at a distance of about 300 li across a wide jungle. Hiuen Tsang had to walk north-east through a great forest, along a dangerous and difficult road, to reach Kuśīnārā from Rāmagāma.

Pipphalivana: This was the land of the Moriyas. One finds an echo of its name in that of Pīprāvā, a village in the Birdpur estate in the district of Basti.

Allakappa and Veṭṭhadīpa: Allakappa was the land of the Bulis and Veṭṭhadīpa was the native land of a Brahmin called Doṇa; both of them were kingdoms.³ Hiuen Tsang locates the site of Droṇastūpa, that is Veṭṭhadīpa, 100 li south-east of Mahāsāra, identified with Masār, a village 6 miles to the west of Arrah.

Kesaputta: The Kālāmas are associated with Kesaputta which is a name similar to Pāṭaliputta, Seriyāputa, Satiyāputa, and Keralaputa.

Ālavī: This is the name of both the country and its principal town. As a principality, it was included in the Kosalan empire. This town was 30 yojanas from Śrāvastī and 12 from Benares.⁴ It lay between Śrāvastī and Rājagṛha. The way from Śrāvastī to Ālavī lay through Kiṭṭāgiri.⁵ Some think that Ālavī was on the Ganges.

• **Eastern India:** The Pubbanta or Prācyā may be defined as the extreme eastern part of India lying to the east of the middle country.

¹ Beal, Buddhist Records, ii, 43.

³ Dhammapada Commentary, i, p. 161.

⁵ Vinaya, ii, 170f.

² Sutta Nipāta, verse 1012.

⁴ Watters, Yuan Chwang, ii, 61.

The eastern boundary of the midland changed from time to time, from Prayāga to Kāśī, from Kāśī to Kajaṅgala and ultimately from the latter to Puṇḍravardhana. The only locality to the east of Kajaṅgala was a Brahmin village of Mahāsāla. Its south-east boundary was formed by the river Sarāvati to be identified either with the Silai, which taking its rise in the Chota Nagpur hills and being united with the Dalkisor flows down as the Rūpnārāyaṇ through the districts of Bankura and Midnapore, or with the Suvarṇarekhā which also taking its rise in the Chota Nagpur hills flows down through the districts of Manbhum and Midnapore. According to the Jains, Lāḍha was a pathless country with its two divisions: Subbhabhūmi and Vajjabhūmi which may be taken to correspond to the modern district of Midnapore. The country of Lāḍha extended from the south-east corner of the middle country to the Bay of Bengal and lay just to the north-east of Kaliṅga. The Subbhabhūmi may be taken to have formed the northern division of the district of Midnapore, while Vajjabhūmi with Tāmalitti (Tāmalīpta, modern Tamluk on the western bank of the Rūpnārāyaṇ), the southern division. Tāmalitti was a great seaport town. Puṇḍravardhana (identified with the modern district of Bogra) lay to the east of the Puṇḍrakakṣa hill about 100 li east from the northern end of Kajaṅgala across the Ganges. A Brāhmī inscription found at Mahāsthāngarh near the town of Bogra mentions Puṇḍra as a prosperous town.¹ The way to the city of Puṇḍravardhana from Kajaṅgala must have been through the place now covered by the district of Malda.

Vaṅga is mentioned as an important centre of trade and commerce. It is contiguous to Aṅga. The western extremity of Vaṅga bordered on Aṅga-Magadha. The district of Lāḍha was situated between Vaṅga on one side and Kaliṅga on the other. Vaṅga in its earlier denotation may be taken to have represented central Bengal extending as far west as the eastern end of Kajaṅgala. Subsequently, Vaṅga came to denote eastern Bengal proper, practically identical with Hiuen Tsang's Samatāṭa. Suvannakūṭa was another centre of trade and commerce. Some have located it in Kāmarūpa.²

Himalayan region: According to all Indian traditions Jambudvīpa extended to the north up to the southern side of Mt. Sumeru placed in the middle of a country called Ilāvṛta containing two mountain ranges: the western called Mālyavat and the eastern known as Gandhamādana. The river Jambu taking its rise in the Merumandāra mountain flows down through the Ilāvṛtavarṣa.³

¹ D. R. Bhandarkar, *Epigraphia Indica*.

² N. N. Das Gupta in *I.C.* Vol V 320

³ Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa Chan. 57.

The Niṣadha mountain range is placed to the south of Ilāvṛtavaiṣa to the south of which lay the country of Harivarṣa. In between Bhāratavarṣa and Harivarṣa are placed the Himalayan range and the Hemakūṭa which is also known as Kimpuruṣavarṣa. The Haimavata region is also known as Kinnarakhaṇḍa. According to Theravāda Buddhist tradition the Himalayan region extended to the north up to the Gandhamādana range. As in the Purāṇas so in the Jātakas the Kinnaras, Kimpuruṣas and Vidyādhara are associated with the Himalaya mountains. An early Buddhist text mentions some mountains in the neighbourhood of the Himalayas.¹ The Anotatta or Mānas-sarovara was the most important lake which was associated with the Kailāsa and Citrakūṭa peaks.

Mahāpadmaharada was the name of the two Himalayan lakes, one connected with the western and the other with the eastern Himalayan range. The Ganges that flowed down southwards branched off into five main rivers of the middle country. The Rohitā flowing eastwards may be identified with the Lauhitya or Brahmaputra, Sindhu flowing northwards with the Indus and one flowing westwards with the Sutlej. The Himalayan region was frequented by the hermits, hunters and kings on hunting expedition. The hermits and ascetics built many hermitages. The hollows in the mountains served as dens for lions and tigers. The Himalayan forests are said to have abounded in four species of lions, tigers, panthers, bears, elephants, bulls, buffaloes, etc. They abounded also in reptiles. The rivers and lakes were full of fish. The birds were numerous and there were various kinds of trees.²

Northern and north-western India: This part of India extended west and north-west from the Brahmin village of Thūṇa or from Pṛthudaka (Pehoa), that is to say, from a place near about Thāneswar. It was bounded on the north and west by the belt of the western Himalayan range reaching down to the Arabian Sea. The region of Uttarāpatha lay to the north of Aparānta and the west of Buddhist midland and was watered by the Himalayan rivers forming the Indus group. The important countries that are included in this region are Aparānta, Śūdra, Gandhāra, Yavana, Sindhu, Sauvīra, Madra, Pārada, Kekaya, Kamboja, Darada, Barbara, Vāhlika and Kāśmīra. Kāśmīra-Gandhāra and Kamboja are definitely placed in Uttarāpatha in early Buddhist texts.³

The Kāṁsa territory was the kingdom of Mathurā, i.e. Śūrasena of which Mathurā was the capital in the time of Mahāvīra and

¹ Apadāna, pp. 162, 178, 381, 382, 437, 440, etc.

² For a detailed study see B. C. Law, Apadāna in *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XIII, 1937, p. 236.

³ Aṅguttara, iv, 252, 256, 260; Vinaya, iii, p. 6.

Buddha. Gandhāra may be taken to have comprised the whole of the districts of Peshawar and Rawalpindi in the northern Punjab. Its capital Takṣaśīlā (modern Taxila) was both a centre of trade and an ancient seat of learning. Kāśmīra is no other than the modern state of Kashmir and Jammu which lies to the east of Peshawar and Rawalpindi. The location of Yona and Kamboja is not definitely settled. They must have been localities near about Kāśmīra and Gandhāra. The Mahābhārata definitely locates the land of the Śūdrakas, in western Rajputana where the river Sarasvatī disappears. The Greek historians place the Sodrai in the western part of the Punjab. The land of the Kṣudrakas, Greek Sudracae, Oxydrakai, is placed in the Greek accounts between the Ravi and the Beas. It may be located in the district of Montgomery. Madra was the country of the Sibis which had Sāgala as its capital. The river Irāvati flowed through it. Alasanda (Alexandria) was a city in the Yona country which was a centre of trade and commerce.¹ It was both the name of a country and its chief town. Sindhu and Sauvīra were two great centres of trade and commerce. Sindhu may be identified with Sindh on the Arabian Sea. Sauvīra has been described as a kingdom with Roruka as its capital. It was probably situated between the Indus and the Jhelum. The way of the caravan merchants from Aṅga and Magadha to Sindhu and Sauvīra lay across a great desert which was no other than the great desert of Rajputana. Barbara is associated in the Mahābhārata with Yona, Kamboja, Gandhāra and Kirāta and placed in Uttarāpatha. Barbara or Barbaricum is described in the Periplus as a market town of Minnagara on the Erythraean Sea. Pallava may be identified with Pahlava and Bahika with Vāhika. Utpalāvati, a city in Uttarāpatha, may be identified with Puṣkalāvati or Puṣkarāvati (which is identified with modern Parang and Chārsada, 17 miles north-east of Peshawar on the Swat river) which was one of the two most important cities in Gandhāra. Kekaka or Kekaya territory lay beyond the Vipāśā and abutted on the Gandhāra country. Setavyā is described as a city of Gandhāra,² while according to the early Buddhist texts it is located in Kośala and on the high road between Kapilavastu and Śrāvastī. The Sindhu (Indus), Vitamśā (Vitastā) and Candrabhāgā (Chenāb) are the important rivers of Uttarāpatha. The Bhāgirathi-gaṅgā taking its rise in the Himalayas flowed by the city of Hamsavatī. There was another river by the name of Amarikā which flowed from the foot of the Somaṅga mountain belonging to the Himalayan range.

¹ Mahānīdāsa, pp. 155, 415.

² *Ind. Ant.*, 1891, 375.

Western India: It represents that part of western India which lay to the west of the Buddhist midland and to the north and south of the Deccan and northern India. According to some it extended westward from the western side of the kingdom of Vatsa. It was the western seaboard of India. The Bhoja and Rāṣṭra countries, which are mentioned in Aśoka's R.E. V, are the countries in western India. Devasabhā, Surāṣṭra, Bhṛgukaccha, Ānarta and Aburda are the representative countries of the western India. According to Hiuen Tsang's account western India seems to have comprised Sind, western Rajputana, Cutch, Gujarat and a portion of the adjoining coast on the lower course of the Narmadā.¹ Avanti was the most important among the countries in western India. It appears to have been divided by the river Vetravati into north and south, the north having its capital at Ujjayinī and the south at Māhiṣmatī. Both Ujjayinī and Māhiṣmatī stood on the southern high road extending from Rājagṛha to Pratiṣṭhāna. Kuraraghara was a town in Avanti. The country or kingdom of Avanti may be taken to have corresponded roughly to modern Malwa and Nīmar and the adjoining parts of the Central Provinces. Vedisā (identified by Cunningham with the modern Bhilsa in the Gwalior State) lay on the road to Ujjayinī. The kingdom of Śūrasena had Mathurā (modern Muttra) on the right bank of the Yamunā as its capital. Śūrasena is placed to the south of the Kuru country. The way from Śrāvastī to Mathurā lay through an important locality called Verañjā. Matsya mentioned with Śūrasena is to be located to the south or south-west of Indraprastha. Its capital was Virāṭanagara (modern Bairat). It may be supposed to have comprised the State of Jaipur and included the whole of the State of Alwar with a portion of Bharatpur. Surāṣṭra was another important country in western India which was watered by a river called Sātodikā. Its capital was Girinagara (modern Girnar in Kathiawad). The Sunāparanta is identified with the modern Konkan. Its capital was Śurpāraka, a highly important seaport on the Arabian Sea, modern Sopārā in the district of Thānā near Bombay. The Bhṛgukaccha was another important seaport town on the Arabian Sea which is identified with modern Broach in Kathiawad and identical with the Barygaza of Ptolemy and the Periplus. Bhoja may be identified with modern Berar. The town Śatakannikā may be taken to have represented the place of origin of the Śātakarnis.

Deccan: This represents south India which extended southward from Māhiṣmatī identified with Māndhātā on the Narmadā. According to the Jains it was the southern half of India to the south of the

¹ Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 690.

Vindhya range. The Godāvārī and the Narmadā regions are definitely placed in Dakṣiṇāpatha. Besides these two rivers there are other rivers, e.g. Kāverī and Kaṇṇapeṇṇā. The famous river Kāverī flowed into the sea. The Kaṇṇapeṇṇā was a river in Mysore. Pratiṣṭhāna (modern Paithān) on the Godāvārī is described as the southern terminus of the southern high road extending from Rājagṛha. It was situated near about the modern Pañcavaṭī at Nāsik. On the banks of the Godāvārī stood the two Andhra kingdoms of Assaka with its capital at Potana and Aḷaka or Mūḷaka, the latter standing to the north of the former.¹ Kolapaṭṭana was a harbour on the Coromandel coast. Rājagiri, Pubbasela, Aparasela and Siddhattha were all localities near about the Andhaka seat of power, i.e. in the neighbourhood of Amarāvati. The Damiḷa (Drāvida) territories included the countries of Coḷa with Kāñcīpura (modern Conjeeveram) as its capital, Pāṇḍya with Madhurasuttapaṭṭana (modern Madoura) as its chief town and Kerala (Chera).² Kāliṅga was a kingdom with its capital at Dantapura, situated near Chicacole on the Bay of Bengal. Oḍra and Utkala represented the two distinct parts of Orissa. The Mekala country was probably a tract of land comprising the modern Amarakantaka hills and adjoining locality. There was a river named Telavāha in the kingdom of Śeriva near Andhapura.³

¹ Sutta Nipāta, verse 1011.

² Cūḷavaṃsa, liii, 9; lv, 5, 12.

³ Jātaka, i, p. III.

A FEW KNOTTY POINTS IN THE MAHĀVAMSA ACCOUNT OF THE SECOND BUDDHIST COUNCIL

By DEVAPRASAD GUHA

Buddhist traditions speak of a number of Councils which are said to have taken place in India and Ceylon on various occasions at different times after the demise of Buddha. Though the traditions do not admit all the Councils, they are more or less unanimous for the first two. It is for more than half a century that this subject has been constantly attracting the attention of scholars. Although the Second Council is a long-discussed question, yet there are some points which still require proper investigation.

The first thing that strikes a reader is the name Sambhūta which has got *Sāṇavāsī* as its appellation. Sambhūta, as can be gathered from all the Pāli sources, was one of the four *arhats* who represented the bhikkhus of the West in the special committee (tribunal) selected for discussing the Ten Points or Issues which were the bones of contention among the orthodox bhikkhus and their liberal brethren of Vesālī. Scholars like Oldenberg, Müller, Turnour and Wijesinha have construed *Sāṇavāsī* as *Sāṇe* or *Sāṇasmim vāsī adhivāsī*, i.e. a resident of *Sāṇa*, which, in this sense, evidently signifies a place. This, of course, is not improbable. But against this contention it can be said that had *vāsī* been used in the sense of 'a resident', as has been taken by the above-named scholars, is it not reasonable to expect the mention of the residence in the case of some other theras? But unfortunately our sources are all silent on this point. Again, had *sāṇa* signified a place-name, is it not natural to expect its mention as a geographical name in any other early Indian literary or inscriptional work? The only names, somewhat similar to it, which can be had from other literary works, are *Sānupabbata*,¹ *Sāṇuvāsī(pabbata)*² and *Suvaṇṇapabbata*,³ none of which, however, can be philologically equated with our name. Of course, it is to be admitted that the simple absence of any reference to this place in any other literary or inscriptional work does not guarantee the absence of it in ancient days. Moreover, further researches in Indology may bring into light not only the reference to *Sāṇa*, as a geographical name, but also its particulars.

¹ *Jātaka*, P.T.S. edition, V, p. 415.

² *Petavatthu*, Ch. iii, p. 35.

³ *Jātaka*, I, pp. 50, 55.

Now the word *Sāṇavāsī* may be taken as a combination of the words *sāṇa*, Sk. *śāṇa*, hemp, and *vāsī*, from $\sqrt{\text{vas}}$, wearer, clothed in, clad. In this sense *vāsī* has been used in many places in Pāli literature. For example, (a) *saṅghātivāsī* agiho carāmi¹: *dressed in a saṅghāṭi*, I wander about houseless; (b) *kāsāyavāsini* agiham carantam²: *wearing the yellow robe* one wandering about homeless; (c) *sāhunnāvāsino* eke aññe *kesanivāsino* petā . . .³: the spirits, some *wearing stripes of ragged cloth* and others *with hair as the cover of their nakedness* . . .; (d) *yāni* pure *tuvam* *devi* *bhaṇḍu* *nantaka-vāsini*⁴: formerly, O queen, you did go about bare-headed and ill-clad; and (e) *kuto* *nu* *āgacchasi* *rummavāsī* *otallako* *pamsu-pisācako* *va*⁵: whence do you come, *in filthy garments dressed*, a creature, vile and goblinlike? Thus, in this sense, *Sāṇavāsī*, while qualifying *Sambhūta*, signifies that he was a monk who used to put on a robe, made of hemp, a thing, though uncommon, is not, however, improper for a *bhikkhu*. The following passages in the *Vinaya Mahāvagga* give testimony to the fact that Buddha allowed the monks to use hempen robes: (i) *Tena* *kho* *pana* *samayena* *saṃghassa* *uccāvacāni* *cīvarāni* *uppajjanti*. *Atha* *kho* *bhikkhūnaṃ* *etad* *ahosi*: *kiṃ* *nu* *kho* *bhagavatā* *cīvaraṃ* *anuññātau* *ti*. *Bhagavato* *etaṃ* *attham* *ārocesum*. *Anujānāmi* *bhikkhave* *cha* *cīvarāni* *khomaṃ* *kappāsikaṃ* *koseyyaṃ* *kambalaṃ* *sāṇaṃ* *bhaṅgaṃ* *ti*⁶: 'At that time the fraternity got different kinds of robes, whereupon the *bhikkhus* thought "which robes are allowed to us by the Blessed One, and which are not?" They put the question to the Lord who answered thus, "I allow you, O monks, six kinds of robes, viz. those made of linen, cotton, silk, wool, *hempen cloth* and coarse cloth"' (ii) *Pamsukūlacīvaraṃ* *nissāya* *pabbajjā*, *tattha* *te* *yāvajīvaṃ* *ussāho* *karaṇīyo*. *Atirekalābho* *khomaṃ* *kappāsikaṃ* *koseyyaṃ* *kambalaṃ* *sāṇaṃ* *bhaṅgaṃ*⁷: 'The religious life has the robe made of rags collected from dust heaps for its resource. Thus, you must endeavour to live all your life. Linen, cotton, silk, woollen garments, *hempen cloth*, coarse cloth, are all extra allowances.'⁸ The members, again, who were chosen for the judicial committee of eight are mentioned by their names only without any qualifying attribute, excepting, of course, in the cases of *Yasa* and *Sambhūta*. The former has been represented in the *Cullavagga* as *Kākaṇḍakaputta*, and in the *Mahāvamsa* as *Kākaṇḍakadijatraja*,

¹ *Sutta-Nipāta*, v. 456.

³ *Petavatthū*, p. 34.

⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, p. 380.

⁷ *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XVII, pp. 196-97.

⁸ *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, i, 30, 4, p. 58; i, 77, 1, p. 96.

⁹ *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XIII, p. 173.

² *Ibid.*, v. 487.

⁴ *Jātaka*, III, p. 22.

⁶ *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, viii, 3, 1, p. 281.

the son of the Brāhmin Kākaṇḍaka, while the latter has been mentioned in all the sources as *sāṇavāsī*. Now, for this different way of expression an explanation may be hazarded. It seems to me that Yasa was given an attribute to distinguish him from his other namesakes. And as for Sambhūta the speciality of his dress brought for him a qualifying attribute. It seems to me that the peculiarities in the cases of these two members of the committee induced the *theras* to speak of Yasa and Sambhūta in the way they have been described. Thus, it seems that the word *sāṇa* here does not stand for the name of a place, as has been taken by some scholars, but only refers to the *dress* which Sambhūta used to put on.

The next point to be discussed is the site at which the Council was actually held. All the Pāli traditions agree as to the exact venue of the Second

Site of the Council. Buddhist Council at Vālikārāma (var. Vālukārāma) in Vesālī, while the *Dīpavaṃsa* alone takes it to be Kuṭāgārasālā at Mahāvana in the same city. We know from the *Cullavagga* that the monks met in an assembly at Sahajāti, where, at the suggestion of Revata, the place was transferred to Vesālī on the ground that if the dispute was settled there, i.e. at Sahajāti, the bhikkhus of Vesālī, the place of origin of the Ten Points, might press for a fresh discussion (sace mayam imaṃ adhikaraṇaṃ idha vūpasameyyāma siyāpi mūladāyaka bhikkhū punakammāya ukkotcyyum).¹ Here, *idhu* undoubtedly means 'Sahajāti', while *mūladāyaka* refers to 'the Vesalian monks'. The *Mahāvamsa*, too, supports it in the following verse:

'Mūlatthehi vinā vatthusamanam neva rocayī
thero, sabbe pi bhikkhū te Vesālīm agamū tato.'²

(And the *thera* would not end the dispute save in the presence of those with whom it had begun, lit. 'without those who were at the root; therefore all the bhikkhus went thence to Vesālī'.)³ This verse, further, explicitly states that *mūlatthehi* signifies the *bhikkhus of Vesālī*. The word *tato* refers to *Sahajātiyam* in v. 34 (cf. Revatatheramūlamhi *Sahajātiyam* ettha tu . . .). Now this slight discrepancy about the site may be explained in this way. The compiler of the *Dīpavaṃsa*, without properly consulting the definitely earlier account in the *Cullavagga*, places the venue of the assembly at Kuṭāgārasālā, the original place of the tangle, where the monks, coming from Sahajāti, actually flocked together for a discussion. But, as can be had from the *Cullavagga*, when they failed to carry on with the proceedings owing to the disturbance created by the

¹ *Cullavagga*, xii, 2, 4, p. 303.

² *Mahāvamsa*, ch. iv, v. 36.

³ *Mahāvamsa*, pp. 22-3.

assembled monks they selected a committee of eight representatives of eastern and western bhikkhus and repaired to Vālikārāma, a beautiful place free from all sorts of noise (ayaṃ kho Vālikārāmo ramaṇīyo appasaddo appanigghoso)¹ to decide the points at issue (atha kho therā bhikkhū Vālikārāmaṃ agamaṃsu taṃ adhikaraṇaṃ vinicchitukāmo).² The *Mahāvamsa* also speaks in the same tone as can be inferred from the following verses:

Mūlatṭhehi vinā vatthusamanam neva rocayi
thero, sabbe pi bhikkhū te Vesālīṃ agamaṃ tato.³
Sametum tāni vatthūni appasaddaṃ anākulam
agamaṃ Vālikārāmaṃ aṭṭha therā anāsava. . .⁴

The Tibetan version of this Council, however, is of no help to us, which simply states that it was held at Vesālī. Hiuen Tsang makes the Council to have taken place 14 or 15 li to the south-east of the city of Vesālī where he noticed a tope marking the 'place where the 700 eminent sages made the second compilation' (shih-ch'i-pai-hsien-sheng-chung-chie-chi-ch'u). Watters informs us that in the Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya the name of the place where the Council was held was known as the *She-tui Saṅghārāma* (i.e. sand-heap monastery) while the other Chinese versions call it *P'o-li-ka yuan* or *P'o-li-yuan* or *P'o-li-lin*, corresponding to the *Vālikārāma* of the Pāli scriptures. Taking all these traditions into account it can be well said that the Council actually took place at Vālikārāma and not at Kuṭāgārasālā (of the Mahāvāna) as has been adduced by the *Dīpavamsa*.

The last point to consider is the number of persons who assembled together to discuss the Ten Points. There is practically no difference of opinion among the various sources that the idea of holding the Council first struck the mind of Yasa. Thus, in the *Cullavagga*, we see Yasa arriving at Kosambī, sending messengers to the monks of the west and Avanti-Dakkhiṇāpatha with the request to settle the dispute before *adhamma* and *avinaya* win mastery over *dhamma* and *vinaya*, i.e. before the regime of wrong prevails over that of the right (āgacchantu āyasmantā, imaṃ adhikaraṇaṃ ādiyissāma, pure adhammo dīppati dhammo paṭibāhīyati, avinayo dīppati vinayo paṭibāhīyati, pure adhamnavādīno balavanto honti dhammavādīno dubbalā honti, avinayavādīno balavanto honti vinayavādīno dubbalā honti ti).⁵ The *Mahāvamsa* also states that the therā, i.e. Yasa, going through the air, got down at Kosambī, and

¹ *Cullavagga*, xii, 2, 7, p. 306.

² *Mahāvamsa*, ch. iv, v. 36.

³ *Cullavagga*, xii, 1, 7, p. 298.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, v. 50.

sent messengers to the monks of Pāvā (var. Pāṭheyyakā, i.e. of the west) and Avanti.

Cf. Thero uggamma nabhasā gantvā Kosambiyam thito
Pāveyyakāvantikānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ santikaṃ lahuṃ
pesesi dūte.¹

Yasa further approached the theras like Sambhūta, Revata and others and entreated them in the same language. From the Chinese account, again, we learn that Yasada (evidently Yasa of Pāli account) approached the senior theras personally and requested them to hold a Council. Thus, Watters seems to be right when he says that it was Yasada who started the agitation against the Vajjian monks and that it was his action which led to the meeting of the Council.²

The *Cullavagga* gives the number of the bhikkhus who attended the Council as 700, while the Ceylonese chronicles and *Samantapāsādikā* furnish us with two different numbers, viz. 700 and 1,200,000. The northern versions, however, mention only 700 monks. This difference has puzzled many scholars. Kern goes so far as to say that 'the later Sinhalese documents pretend to know much more of the Council of Vaiśālī than the canonical Vinaya. They give in substance what is found in the sacred texts, but with additions which partly are not warranted by, and partly positively conflicting with the canonical record. Thus the *Dīpavamsa* one time fixes the number of those who attended the Second Council at 700, another time at 1,200,000'.³ But there is nothing conflicting in this. A careful study of the account of the Council as recorded in the *Mahāvamsa* will convince a reader that 1,200,000 monks actually attended the *sannipāta*, i.e. the general assembly, which took place at Kuṭāgārasālā, wherefrom 700 arhats were chosen for the *saṅgīti*, i.e. the Council, which was convened at Vālikārāma, where the Vinaya and possibly also the Dhamma had been recited.

With all respects to Dr. Geiger, I must say that it was he alone who should be blamed for this confusion among the scholars. His defective translation of the 60th verse of the fourth chapter of the *Mahāvamsa* is, I think, the sole cause of this confusion. The verse runs as follows:

Bhikkhū satasahassāni dvādasāsuṃ samāgatā;
sabbesaṃ Revatatthero bhikkhūnaṃ pamukho tadā.

It has been translated by Geiger as: 'One hundred and twelve thousand bhikkhus had come together, and of all these bhikkhus

¹ *Mahāvamsa*, ch. iv, vv. 17-8.

² Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, vol. ii, p. 74.

³ Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 105.

the thera Revata was the chief.'¹ But the right rendering should be 'twelve hundred thousand bhikkhus, etc.' Apparently the difficulty seems to lie with the clause 'bhikkhū satasahassāni dvādasāsum samāgatā'. But there is nothing puzzling in this. The *Mahāvamsa*, the exigencies of metre of its poetry necessitated such a composition, is full of such idioms: cf. 'sālivāhasahassāni navutim tu suvā pana'²; 'titthiyānaṃ sahasāni nikkadḍhitvāna saṭṭhi so'³; 'purisānaṃ dasaḍḍhehi satehi parivārīto'.⁴ Geiger also seems to have detected the flaw as can be inferred from his following statement: 'But when the Dīp. (*Dīpavamsa*) 5. 20 speaks of 1,200,000 who took part in the Council it does not contradict itself in this. By this naturally exaggerated number the Dīp. means those who took part in the General Assembly. Mah. (*Mahāvamsu*) 4. 60 and Smp. (*Samantapāsādikā*) 294 give for this the same number.'⁵ But, unfortunately Geiger has not corrected the defect in his translation.

The following lines of the *Mahāvamsa* have troubled some scholars as to the exact number of monks who attended the Council. The statement is:

'Revatatttheramūlamhi Sahajātiyaṃ ettha tu
bhikkhū satasahassāni ekādasa samāgatā
navutī ca sahasāni āhu taṃ vatthusantiyā.'⁶

(Here in Sahajāti eleven hundred and ninety thousand bhikkhus were come together under the thera Revata, to bring the dispute to a peaceful end.)

Geiger's faulty translation of the 60th verse of the fourth chapter of the *Mahāvamsa* mentioned above has been the sole cause of misapprehension among scholars like Dr. R. C. Majumdar whose observation is evidently based on Geiger's rendering. Dr. Majumdar, in his dissertation on the Buddhist Councils, has said: 'The *Mahāvamsa* puts the number of Bhikkhus on the side of Yasa as eleven hundred and ninety thousand. Later on, however, it gives the number as one hundred and twelve thousand, from whom 700 were chosen by Revata to form the Council. Buddhaghosa also puts the number of assembled Bhikkhus as 1200,000 though he refers to the Council of 700.'⁸ Again, while commenting on the historical character of the Council he has remarked: 'We can thus sweep away, at one stroke, the legendary number of the members of the Assembly, ultimately reaching the astounding figure of

¹ *Mahāvamsa*, tr., p. 24.

² *Ibid.*, v. 74.

³ *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. lv, f.n. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁵ Law, *Buddhist Studies*, pp. 51-2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ch. v, v. 29.

⁷ *Ibid.*, v. 122.

⁸ *Ibid.*, ch. v, vv. 34-5.

1200,000.¹ As it appears Dr. Majumdar has fallen into some confusion with the two numbers, 1190,000 and 1200,000. But there is nothing confusing in this. From a study of the verses quoted above it is apparent that 1190,000 bhikkus, with Revata in the forefront, assembled at *Sahajāti* to settle the dispute. The *Vamsatthappakāsinī*,² the commentary of the *Mahāvamsa*, explains this more clearly when it says 'ettha *Sahajātiyam* eva dasavatthu-upasamanatthāya taṃ Revatattheraṃ āhamsū ti', i.e. here, at *Sahajāti*, they (the bhikkhus) asked the thera Revata to settle the Ten Points. The *Cullavagga* also gives support to our contention when it says 'atha kho saṃgho taṃ adhikaraṇaṃ vinicchitukāmo sannipati'.³ From a study of the context of this passage it becomes evident that the bhikkhus met together at *Sahajāti* where Yasa and his followers overtook Revata after a fruitless search through a number of places on way from the Ahogaṅga hill to *Sahajāti*. Then at the suggestion of Revata the venue of the assembly was shifted to *Vesālī*, for, it did not appear wise to Revata to hold a discussion and settle the points at issue in the absence of those who were responsible for the origin of the trouble. Evidently it refers to the Vajjian monks who had their stronghold at *Vesālī*. Both the *Cullavagga* and the *Mahāvamsa* are unanimous about it. The former says: 'atha kho āyasmā Revato saṃghaṃ ñāpesi: sunātu me āvuso saṃgho. Sace mayaṃ adhikaraṇaṃ idha vūpasameyyāma siyāpi mūladāyakā bhikkhū punakammāya ukkoṭeyyuma. Yaḍi saṃghassa pattakallaṃ, yatth' ev' imaṃ adhikaraṇaṃ samuppannaṃ, saṃgho tatth' ev' imaṃ adhikaraṇaṃ vūpasameyyā' ti. Atha kho therā bhikkhū *Vesālī*ṃ agamaṃsu taṃ adhikaraṇaṃ vinicchitukāma'.⁴

(And the venerable Revata laid a resolution before the Saṃgha, saying, 'Let the venerable Saṃgha hear me. If we were to settle this question, it might be that those Bhikkhus who had at first taken the matter in hand might raise it again. If it seem meet to the Saṃgha, let the Saṃgha settle it at that place where it arose'. Then the Thera Bhikkhus went to *Vesālī*, with the intention of settling the matter there.⁵)

The *Mahāvamsa* writes:

'Mūlaṭṭhehi vinā vatthusamaṇaṃ neva rocayi
thero, sabbe pi bhikkhū te *Vesālī*ṃ agamaṃ tato.'⁶

¹ Law, *Buddhist Studies*, p. 57.

² *Vamsatthappakāsinī*, Vol. I, p. 103.

³ *Cullavagga*, xii, 2. 4, p. 303.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XX, pp. 403-04.

⁶ *Mahāvamsa*, ch. iv, v. 36.

So, the monks, numbering 1190,000, who assembled at Sahajāti repaired to Vesālī where the number increased to 1200,000. Thus, at Vesālī we find the increase in the total number of bhikkhus by 10,000. This rise by 10,000 heads can be explained by a reference to the following verses of the *Mahāvamsa* :

Niggahaṇṇi pāpabhikkhūnaṃ dasavatthukadīpināṃ
tesaṃ dasasahassānaṃ mahātherā akāṃsu te.¹
Tehi saṃgītikārehi therehi dutiyehi te
niggahitā pāpabhikkhū sabbe dasasahassakā
akāṃsu' ācariyavādaṃ te Mahāsaṃghikanāmakāṃ. . .²

(And thus did the great theras refute the teaching of those ten thousand heretical bhikkhus who maintained the Ten Points.³ The heretical bhikkhus, subdued by the theras who had held the Second Council, in all ten thousand, founded the school which bears the name Mahāsaṃghika.⁴)

From these verses it becomes clear that, at Vesālī, there were 10,000 monks whom the orthodox bhikkhus described as heretical, whereupon they walked out of the orthodox fold and held a separate Council, called the Mahāsaṃghika Council. These 10,000 monks were definitely absent at Sahajāti. This gains support from the statement in the *Vamsatthappakāsinī*, which, while explaining 'bhikkhū satasahassāni dvādas' āsūṃ samāgatā' says : 'dvādas' āsūṃ ti dasasahasseehi pāpabhikkhūhi saddhiṃ Mahāvanamhi samāgatā bhikkhū dvādasasatasahassāni ahesūṃ ti attho', i.e. the monks, assembled at Mahāvana, including the 10,000 heretical bhikkhus, numbered 1200,000. Further, had the so-called 10,000 heretical monks been present at Sahajāti Revata's statement about the *mūladāyaka bhikkhus* cannot be explained. These so-called heretical monks flocked to the assembly which was convened in their own homeland, i.e. at Vesālī. So there is the justification for the rise to 1200,000 from 1190,000. This point will be clear from a study of the 34th, 35th, 55th and 60th verses of the fourth chapter of the *Mahāvamsa*. (All these verses have been quoted above.)

From the above-mentioned verses it is evident that 1190,000 bhikkhus assembled at Sahajāti to discuss the Ten Points, but, at the suggestion of Revata, the President of the Council, the venue was shifted to Vesālī where the number was increased by 10,000 Vajjian monks thus giving the final figure of 1,200,000.

It should be remarked, however, that the figure, namely 1200,000, given for the monks who are said to have assembled at

¹ *Mahāvamsa*, ch. iv, v. 55.

² *Mahāvamsa*, tr., p. 24.

³ *Vamsatthappakāsinī*, Vol. I, p. 168.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ch. v, vv. 3-4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

Kuṭāgārasālā to discuss the validity of the Ten Points, as has been given by the *Mahāvamsa*, seems to have been exaggerated by its compiler, for, we have grave doubts that a hall, better say a pandal, however big it might be, could accommodate as many as twelve lakhs of bhikkhus! But the present dissertation on this point is meant for an explanation of the 60th verse of the fourth chapter of the *Mahāvamsa*, the faulty translation of which has given rise to so much confusion among some modern scholars.

MISCELLANEA

THE NĀLANDĀ AND GAYĀ PLATES OF SAMUDRAGUPTA

I confess I am a tyro in the subject of Indian epigraphy. Nevertheless, I am very much interested in the religious history of India. I had therefore to study Nālandā Plate of Samudragupta. As Mr. A. Ghosh has correctly remarked, Dr. Hirananda Sastri rejects it as spurious and Dr. Bhandarkar leaves the matter open.¹ He is, however, inclined to think that both these documents are spurious and that the dates thereof need not be taken seriously for historical purposes. But Mr. Ghosh quotes in a footnote the opinion of the great epigraphist R. D. Banerji that in the face of the mass of new evidence it is impossible to believe at the present day that the Gayā copperplate grant of the 9th year of Samudragupta is forged, that it cannot be regarded as spurious in the same light as the Sudi Plates and that according to him it is genuine. This is what Banerji has said in regard to the Gayā Plate which has been ascribed by Fleet to about the beginning of the eighth century. But the palaeography of the Nālandā Plate, says Mr. Ghosh, 'shows Gupta forms throughout and has the same features as the early Gupta records'. If this is the case, not only Gayā, but also Nālandā, Plate must be taken as genuine if we are to follow the guidance of the veteran epigraphist R. D. Banerji. But there is ungrammatical construction in the genealogical portion of both, namely, *uchchhēttuh* *apratirathasya* *prapauttrasya* *puttrasya* *dauhitrasya* *utpannah* Samudraguptah. 'It is puzzling', says Mr. Ghosh, 'why the secretariate of Samudragupta should have committed such a silly error in giving the genealogy of its master.' These puzzles, however, are furnished by not a few copperplate grants which have been taken as genuine. Thus to take a fresh instance, the Bāsim Plates of Vākātaka Vindhyaśakti have *chaturāśvamēdha-yājinas=samrāja Vṛishnivṛiddha-sagotrasya* *śrī-Pravarasēna-pautrasya* *śrī-Sarvasēna-putrasya* *śrī-Vindhyaśaktēr*. This inscription has been edited both by Dr. D. C. Sircar and Prof. Mirashi who have made these corrections *śrī-Pravarasēnasya pautrasya* *śrī-Sarvasēnasya putrasya* *śrī-Vindhyaśakter*. How was then this grammatical construction

¹ *E.I.*, Vol. XXV, p. 51.

tolerated in the genealogical portion of its master in the secretariate of Vindhyaśakti? Did not this ungrammatical construction mislead Mr. Y. K. Deshpande and Mr. D. B. Mahajan, who originally edited the inscription?¹ Can Mr. Ghosh or Dr. Sircar kindly explain? And what is the most silly error is that the *gōtra* of the master's family given by the Bāsim record is Vrishnivṛiddha, and not Vishṇuvṛiddha, which is invariably given in the other Vākāṭaka grants and which, says Prof. Mirashi, 'is evidently the correct form, for it is the only form of the *gōtra* given by the standard works on *gōtras* and *pravaras*'.² Are Mr. Ghosh and Dr. Sircar therefore prepared to consider the Bāsim grant as a spurious record? Or we may take that group of plates which were issued by the Bhañja rulers of Orissa. Can we find any epigraphic records which are grammatically worse than these? Are Mr. Ghosh and Dr. Sircar prepared to throw them wholesale overboard as spurious documents and not to be considered seriously for historical purposes? I have a purpose in asking this question, because before long I want to discuss whether Samudragupta can be considered as Parama-Bhāgavata as the Nālandā and Gayā grants give us to understand.

SAKUNTALA RAO SASTRI.

PARAMA-BHĀGAVATA SAMUDRAGUPTA

The Nālandā and Gayā Plates speak of Samudragupta as Parama-Bhāgavata. As there is no good reason to doubt the genuineness of these plates, we have to take it that Samudragupta was a Parama-Bhāgavata. But unfortunately both Mr. A. Ghosh and Dr. D. C. Sircar have declared them to be spurious records. In my note on this subject published above I have tried to show that their conclusion does not rest on a sound basis. Setting aside, however, this question for the time being, let us see whether there is any extraneous evidence in favour of what the Plates say about the religious persuasion of Samudragupta. In August 1941 the indefatigable Sanskrit scholar, Rajvaidya Jivaram Kalidas Shastri of Gondal, published *Rasashala Series* No. 19, entitled *Krishna-caritam* composed by Samudragupta. Unfortunately only the manuscript of the *prastāvanā* of this work could be traced in his library. It is in two parts, each of which ends with the colophon

¹ *Proc. Ind. His. Cong.*, 1939, p. 451.

² *E.I.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 138.

iti śrī-Vikramāṅka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramabhāgavata-śrī-Samudragupta-kṛitau Kṛishna-charitē kathā-prastāvanāyām, etc. Does this not show that Samudragupta was not only Parama-Bhāgavata but also Vikramāṅka? Is this evidence to be set at naught? I am told that Pandit Kshitish Chandra Chatterji doubts the genuineness of this work on internal evidence. I am sorry I have not the good fortune to know where his criticism or review has been printed. At any rate nothing is lost in threshing out this question in the *Indian Culture* which is more well known and more accessible to scholars than the *Calcutta Oriental Journal*.

What is strange is that Dr. Sircar relies a little too much on *argumentum ab silentio*. Because Samudragupta is not called Parama-Bhāgavata in any Gupta inscriptions or on his coins, therefore he cannot be styled Parama-Bhāgavata. This seems to be the argument of Dr. Sircar. What is more strange is his assertion that 'Samudragupta might have been a Vaiṣṇava, but he was evidently not a Bhāgavata, i.e. follower of the Bhāgavata form of Vaiṣṇavism'. Will he please tell us what this Vaiṣṇavism was as apart from Bhāgavatism in the time of Samudragupta? Students of religious history like my humble self will be highly indebted to him. I wanted to say something about Samudragupta's epithet *chir-ōtsann-āśvamēdhāharttuḥ*. But I refrain from doing so for the present.

S. R. S.

A POSTSCRIPT ON THE SĀVITRĪ UPANIṢAD

In my article entitled 'Śāntipāṭha and the Affiliation of Upaniṣads',¹ I tried to show that the Sāvitrī Upaniṣad (= SU) of a later date, as mentioned in the Mukṭikā Upaniṣad and published in the Nirṇayasāgara Press, is really an Atharvāṇic treatise in spite of its Sāmavedic Śānti. But is there any reason why it has its Śānti been so recorded? For a discussion of this point I add here a note which will not run counter to my original proposition that it is in fact an AV-Upaniṣad.

So far we have been in possession, as I could trace, of three versions of SU at least, namely, the one incorporated in the Gopāṭha Brāhmaṇa (= GB, I. 1. 31-38), the other in the Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa (= JUB, IV. 12), and the third and last being the SU of the Mukṭikā-list. Now the question arises, upon what version, whether that of GB or JUB, is based the latest SU?

¹ *Indian Culture*, Vol. VIII, Nos. 2 and 3, pp. 253ff.

Apparently one may read a deliberate attempt on the part of GB to have varnished the JUB version. On the first analysis it seems to bear an Atharvanic tinge with a Sāmavedic setting. The philosophical, or rather mystical, duel of GB is precluded by the meeting of the two rival sages, Glāva Maitreya and Maudgalya. Bloomfield¹ cautiously establishes the datum that the former, namely Glāva, is uncontestably and 'apparently an adherent of the Sāmaveda', but strangely enough, I must add, he leaves the case of Maudgalya undecided altogether. This latter sage must have been a scholar associated with the R̥gvedic tradition, a fact which may be proved by a number of references from both the Vedic and the classical literatures.² The latest SU deals with the nine mystic pairs³ as in JUB-SU, none of which accounts has been introduced by any such theological contention as that of GB. There are, however, a few discrepancies of secondary importance: such as, *tatra, candramas, sah* (SU) instead of *lat, candrah, tat* (JUB-SU) respectively. But by far the most important and significant discord lies in two facts: (1) that the account of JUB indulges into an esoteric or symbolic interpretation of the three *pādas* of the Gāyatrī verse (R̥v., III. 62. 10) one by one, next, the first two *pādas* (= the first half-verse), next, the third *pāda* (= the second half-verse), and in fine, all together. This is also the normal order of the Gr̥hyasūtras. On the other hand, SU abruptly and inconsistently stops at the exposition of the three *pādas* one after another and does not proceed further. (2) Another point of difference is that a considerable portion of SU having an Atharvanic bearing does not form a part, organic or otherwise, of the JUB-SU.

Now one may ask which one of the two Brāhmaṇas, GB and JUB, is the earlier. It is admitted on all hands that the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa of which the whole has not been published as yet goes back to a remote period of the Brāhmaṇic literature, and that GB is long antedated by it. But JB and JUB are two distinct texts, the latter partaking the nature of the Āraṇyaka-cum-Upaniṣad literature. It embodies two Upaniṣads, one is the famous Kena

¹ Atharva Veda and Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (Grundriss), p. 110.

² Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Bhāgavata Purāṇa, etc. Of course there is a Maudgalya referred to as the maker of a Sūtra work in the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (ed. Dr. Caland), XX (Dvaidha-sūtra), 1; 13; etc. But he seems to be a different person.

³ The nine pairs are as follows: (1) Fire and Earth, (2) Varuṇa and Waters, (3) Wind and Firmament, (4) Sacrifice and Metres, (5) Cloud and Lightning, (6) Sun and Heaven, (7) Moon and Asterisms, (8) Mind and Speech, and (9) Male and Female. It requires to be noted with care that only six pairs out of the nine as dealt with in GB are to be found in the other two SUs.

or 'Ālavakāra and the other, the Sāvitrī. The former is definitely of a Sāmavedic school, and the Jaiminīyas are also a school of this Veda.¹ The scholastic cohesion of JUB is further proved by the fact that it contains many good parallels to the Chāndogya, a Sāmavedic Upaniṣad.

Thus it will be reasonable to affix to it the period heralding the dawn of the earliest Upaniṣads which are not yet shorn of the Āraṇyaka materials, although the later Brāhmaṇic prose is everywhere visible in it.

The foregoing discussion leads us to maintain that the collocation 'Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa' appears rather faulty. In my humble opinion it might as well be 'Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad'—the word 'Upaniṣad' here would represent a combined Āraṇyaka and Upaniṣad type as held above. It is known that there has nowhere been recorded any Āraṇyaka of the Jaiminīya school the place of which may unhesitatingly be given to this treatise. In the whole array of the Brāhmaṇas GB comes last, and the account of the Gāyatrī (= Sāvitrī) therein looks older of the two. As chronologically (and logically too) GB precedes JUB (there being also no indication of the GB-passage being an interpolation), it has got to be admitted that the GB-version necessarily proves to be the earlier one.

It may be a fact the Gāyatrī verse owing to its very nature has readily been accredited with a dignified position throughout the entire range of the Vedic rituals as represented by the Brāhmaṇas, Śrautas and Grhyas. The last class of the above-mentioned triad comes forward generally with the prescript that this particular Ṛgvedic verse should be recited by the initiates irrespective of the Vedic schools which they are attached to. In this way, we may conjecture, a slow process of transference of traditions is noticeable during the later Vedic epoch itself. In the light of this speculation we may state that GB might have selected this verse and expanded it into an independent Upaniṣad quite naturally. The simple mention of the name of Glāva Maitreya in GB is no guarantee to the conclusion that it is of the Sāmavedic origin, because we have got also the name of Maudgalya juxtaposed to that of Glāva. As we have mentioned above, Maudgalya happens to be a Ṛgvedic sage and ultimately conquers his theologian adversary. The later redactors have perhaps looked up to the SU as forming a part of JUB and have failed to take notice of the GB-version which has reached the Muktikā-SU *en route* the former. Thus it stands in

¹ Vyāsa is said to have transmitted the Sāmaveda to Jaimini, his pupil, cf. Bhāgavata Purāṇa, I. 4. 21.

the following chronological order: GB-SU>JUB-SU>M-SU. Speaking in general terms, the versions of GB, JUB and SU fall within the Brāhmaṇic, Āraṇyaka-Upaniṣadic and Purāṇic periods respectively. The reason as pointed above is responsible for the attribution of the SV-śānti to SU as well as for the declaration as such in the Muktikā that it is in reality a Sāmavedic Upaniṣad.

JAGADISH CHANDRA MITRA.

REVIEWS

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT, BARODA STATE, FOR 1936-37, by Dr. Hirananda Sastri, 1938, pp. 1-46 with 14 plates.

This Report contains an account of the progress made by the Archaeological Department of the Baroda State for 1936-37. It is interesting to note that some forty new inscriptions of historical and epigraphic importance dating from the year 745 up to 1852 A.D. were secured and examined by the Department during this period. The most important of them belongs to the reign of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughlak Shah. The account of the excavations at Amreli where 2,000 silver coins of the Gupta Emperor, Kumāragupta I, were unearthed, is very useful. The book closes with a Hollander's description of Baroda about 1625 A.D. by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel.

B. C. LAW.

NĀLANDĀ AND ITS EPIGRAPHIC MATERIAL, by Dr. Hirananda Sastri, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 66, 1942.

This Memoir deals particularly with the epigraphical material discovered at Nālandā since the excavations started by the late Dr. Spooner in 1916. Describing the topography of Nālandā, the author gives in the introduction (1) a short account of Bargāon and Sārichak, (2) Tibetan and Chinese accounts of Nālandā, and (3) references to Nālandā in Jaina, Buddhist and Brahmanical literature. The account of the structural remains and clay seals of Nālandā reveals some interesting facts of historical importance.

H. P. G.

THE MINOR ANTHOLOGIES OF THE PALI CANON, PT. IV (SACRED BOOKS OF THE BUDDHISTS)—VIMĀNAVATTHU: STORIES OF THE MANSIONS AND PETAVATTHU (STORIES OF THE DEPARTED), translated by Jean Kennedy and Henry S. Gehman respectively. Edited with introduction by Mrs. Rhys Davids. Luzac & Co., London, 1942.

For a long time these two books of the Pali Canon remained untranslated into English. Dr. B. C. Law in his 'Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective' (1925) and 'The Buddhist Conception of Spirits' (1936) have made use of these books and their commentaries and presented a very readable summary. Now a long-felt want has been removed by the publication of this translation in 250 pages. The translators have acquitted themselves creditably and their translations will be of great use to scholars and students alike. In the book of Spirit, the ghost in simple fashion tells his case to a monk who then informs the Buddha. We know that a spirit could be released from the purgatory by the devotion of friends and the concomitant transfer of merit. A spirit may through supererogation be reborn in heaven. Existence in heaven is not permanent and by no means implies the end of the successive rebirths. It is undoubtedly a serious blemish in the working out of the law of cause and effect. The translator has discussed in the introduction to the Vimānavatthu, the question of the date of the composition of this work. He seems to have accepted Dr. Law's date. (B. C. Law, *History of Pali Literature*, p. 36). The translation on the whole is quite readable and this book can be safely recommended to those interested in the topics of heaven and hell.

D. GUHA.

THE BOOK OF THE DISCIPLINE (SUTTAVIBHAṄGA, VINAYA PITAKA), Vols. I and II, translated by Miss I. B. Horner, M.A., Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, London, 1938 and 1940.

It is excellent translation of the Suttavibhaṅga of the Vinaya Piṭaka and we can strongly recommend it to every serious student of Buddhist Vinaya. The translator is to be congratulated on the excellent manner in which she has acquitted herself in her most difficult task. It is undoubtedly a great improvement on Oldenberg's translation. Footnotes given at the bottom of each page have greatly enhanced the value of the book under review. The introduction is very useful and interesting. We can safely accept many renderings of the translator, e.g., *bhikkhu*, *samāṇa*, *dhamma*, etc. This new translation will be welcome by all engaged in the study of the Vinaya literature.

D. L. BARUA.

INDIAN ART AND LETTERS, New Series, Vol. XVII, No. 2. Second Issue for 1943. Published by the India Society, London, 1943. 5s. per issue.

The Journal opens with a paper on *Recent Trends in Bengali Literature* by Mr. Sisir K. Mukherjea. Speaking on the Contemporary Bengali Literature, Mr. Mukherjea has presented vividly a well-balanced critical survey of the various types of writings, literature, novel and poetry. The modern Bengali painting founded by Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore and the Bengali popular songs have not escaped his attention. 'The literature of Bengal,' says Mr. Mukherjea, 'has more than a literary interest, for it does reflect adequately the social, religious and political temper of the people. This may be true of all literature, but it is true of Bengali literature in a special sense. For the civilization of Bengal has a literary bias . . . the enthusiasm of the people for literature is as great as their passion for religion or politics.' The development of the various aspects of the different types of novels has been dealt with in an interesting manner. The distinctive traits of famous novelists from Bankimchandra downwards dealt with by the writer bear testimony to his intensive critical study. The lyricism of Candidāsa, the erotic mysticism of Jayadeva, and the ever-fascinating poems of Rabindranath have been discussed with credit.

The paper on *Tibetan Art* by Mr. J. C. French deals with the primitive art of Tibet, the source of which has been traced to the early Buddhistic art of India. The critical survey of the chronological development of the Tibetan art and the influence of India and China thereon in different periods is sure to evoke great interest in serious students of Fine Arts. The author has given in this paper some beautiful illustrations. *City Development in India and Britain—Some Comparisons* by B. S. Townroe gives a short historical account of townplanning in Græco-Roman days, in India and in London, and makes some suggestions regarding the post-war reconstruction in the East and the West. *Some Observations on the Hindustani Language* by Mr. Mulk Raj Anand traces the origin and development of Hindustani which is, according to him, the result of a mixture of the dialects spoken in Northern India in the ninth and tenth centuries. The other note worthy articles are *Archaeological Work in the State of Baroda* by A. S. Gadre, *The Music of Greater India* by Dennis Stoll, *The Government School of Arts and Crafts, Lucknow*, by F. H. Andrews, and *Some British Admirers of Indian Culture* by R. G. Shahani.

H. P. G.

OBITUARY

**MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA Dr. R. SHAMA SHASTRY,
B.A., Ph.D.**

We regret very much the death of Dr. R. Shama Shastry who was a veteran Sanskrit scholar of South India. He was well known for his edition of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra and its English translation. He edited the ninth volume of the South Indian Inscriptions which is undoubtedly a monumental work. He was for some time the Principal of the Government Sanskrit College, Bangalore. Even after his retirement, he used to carry on his researches till the time of his passing away. He was a great scholar and a devoted worker. He lived a very simple life of a Brahmin. In his death we have lost a great South Indian Sanskrit scholar, and the world of Oriental scholarship has been greatly affected by his death.

B. C. L.

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RĀṢṬRIYA VAIŚYA PUṢYAGUPTA AND YAVANARĀJĀ TUṢĀSPHA IN RUDRADĀMAN'S INSCRIPTION

By B. M. BARUA

We learn from the Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman I that near Girinagara (Girnār) was excavated the Sudarśana Tank by Candragupta Maurya's Vaiśya Rāṣṭriya named Puṣyagupta. Subsequently, after the reign of Aśoka (*Aśokasya Mauryasyante*)¹ the Yavanarājā Tuṣāspha built embankments and fitted the same with aqueducts (*adhiṣṭhāya prañālībhīr alaṅkṛtam*). From the new reading *ante* in lieu of *krte*, it is evident that Tuṣāspha, probably a Perso-Greek from the North-Western region of India,² was a post-Aśokan chieftain or independent ruler of Surāṣṭra, as well as that the credit for the embankment of the tank and its aqueducts was due not to Aśoka but to Tuṣāspha.

If it be true, as supposed, that Rudradāman had a previous record to guide him regarding the origin of the tank and its embankment, etc., there is no escape from the conclusion that the Vaiśya Puṣyagupta, the excavator of the tank, was a Rāṣṭriya of Candragupta Maurya. Here the whole political and administrative mystery lies round the word Rāṣṭriya which, according to the Amarakoṣa, signifies the brother-in-law (wife's brother) of a king (*rājasyālas tu rāṣṭriyah*).³ Amarasiṃha is here guided by the sense in which the word was employed in the Sanskrit dramas. So the commentator Kṣīrasvāmī is justified in pointing out that 'except in a play a Rāṣṭriya is a *Rāṣṭrādhiṣṭa*, i.e. an officer appointed to look after or supervise the affairs of a *rāṣṭra*, state or province.'⁴

With Kielhorn Puṣyagupta, the Vaiśya Rāṣṭriya of Candragupta Maurya, was the provincial governor of Surāṣṭra⁵ while with Raychaudhuri he was probably 'a sort of Imperial High Commissioner

¹ The epigraphists and historians of India have hitherto taken Tuṣāspha to be a governor appointed (*krte* completed as *krtena*) by Aśoka Maurya. As for the use of *ante*, cf. *Kulasyānte*, *Āndhrānānte* in Pargiter's *Purāna Text*, pp. 49, 59.

² Kielhorn is responsible for the reading *krte* which Dr. Dines Ch. Sircar prefers. Bhau Daji is for completing *te* as *lena*, and Indrajī for reading *te* as *tat*, both of which are wide of the mark.

³ Tuṣāspha being a personal name, Vincent Smith was led to think that the Yavana-rājā bearing this name was a Persian, while the epithet *Yavana-rājā* indicates that he was a Greek.

⁴ Amarakoṣa, V. 14.

⁵ Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th Ed., p. 237.

whose position was comparable to that of Lord Cromer in Egypt'. Raychaudhuri inclines to identify the Rāṣṭriya with the Rāṣṭrapāla (Rāṣṭrāntapāla?)¹ whose salary was, according to the Arthaśāstra, 'equal to that of a Kumāra or Prince'.²

Raychaudhuri's suggestion is evidently based upon the assumption 'that Surāṣṭra was probably an autonomous vassal state, or a confederation of vassal states, and not an imperial province'.³ The argument which leads him to this conclusion is worth quoting.

'The Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra refers to a number of *Samghas*, e.g. Kāmboja, Surāṣṭra, etc. The Kāmbojas find prominent mention as a separate unit even in the Thirteenth Rock Edict of Aśoka. That Surāṣṭra (Kāthiāwār) was antonomous in the time of Aśoka seems probable from the reference, in R.E. V, to various nations in the western border (*aparāta*) in addition to those named specifically, and from Rudradāman's inscription at Junāgaḍh which refers to the Rājā, the Yavana Tuṣāspha, the contemporary and vassal of Aśoka. The Yavanarājā was probably a Greek chief of the North-West who was appointed one of the *Mukhyas* or chiefs of the Surāṣṭra Samgha by Aśoka, just as Rājā Māu Singh of Amber was appointed Subādār of Bengal by Akbar. His title of Rājā probably indicates that he enjoyed a certain amount of autonomy.'⁴

This observation, which is otherwise very weighty, is shaky for these two reasons:

- (i) That the verse in the Arthaśāstra (xi. 1) speaking of the Kāmbojas, the Surāṣṭras, and the like as the guilds (corporations) of warriors who lived by agriculture, trade, and wielding weapons, as distinguished from others who bore the title of Rājā, may be taken to have referred to an earlier state of things; and
- (ii) That the new reading *Aśokasya Mauryasyante* renders the contemporaneity of Aśoka and Tuṣāspha highly problematical.

As for the official designation of Rāṣṭriya, Buddhaghosa tells us, in one context, that during a processional state-drive of king Ajātaśatru of Magadha the place assigned to the Rāṣṭriyas (*Raṭṭhiya-puttā*) among his retinue 'was just between the *Mahāmātras* who were nicely dressed and the fittingly dressed Brahmins shouting the joy of victory'. The Rāṣṭriyas themselves 'are said to have been gorgeously dressed holding swords and the like in their hands (*vividhālankarāmaṇḍitā nānāppakārā-āvudhahatthā*)'. In another

¹ E.I., Vol. VIII, p. 46.

² Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

³ Arthaśāstra, V. 3.

⁴ Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 236ff

context, he tells us that the king of the Kuru country came to see the Thera Raṭṭhapāla (Rāṣṭrapāla) with a retinue consisting of the *Mahāmātras*, the *Mahārāṣṭrikas*, and such like persons of higher and higher ranks (*Mahānattā-Mahārattikādīnaṃ vasena uggatugga-lam eva paṇisaṃ gacchvā upasaṅkami*).¹

Squaring up the two, we may understand that *Rāṣṭriya* and *Rāṣṭrika* are one and the same designation. As for the connection of *Rāṣṭriya* or *Rāṣṭrika* with *Rāṣṭrapāla*, some light may be thrown from the Pali Raṭṭhapāla Sutta² and Buddhaghosa's comment thereon. From the Sutta itself, it is clear that Rāṣṭrapāla was the only son of a *Śresṭhī* of Sthūlakosṭhita, a fertile and prosperous place in the Kuru country of the Buddha's time. The *Śresṭhī* who was a Vaiśya by caste lived in a right royal style.³ According to Buddhaghosa, the *Śresṭhin's* was a Rāṣṭrapāla family (Raṭṭhapāla-kula). By definition, a Rāṣṭrapāla family was that of which the head was capable of maintaining and restoring the peace and order in a territory or any portion thereof in the event of party factions, capable of coping with or quelling any popular commotion or disturbance:

*Sarājikaṃ catuvannaṃ paṇisaṃ yam pahossati,
raṭṭhapālakulam nāma.*⁴

In the prose portion of the *Culla-Sutasoma Jālaka* the Commander-in-Chief (*Senāpati*) is placed at the head of the *Amātyas* (Councillors and Officers), the Chaplain (*Purohita*) at the head of the Brāhmanas, and the *Rāṣṭrika* (*Raṭṭhika*) is placed foremost among the *Naigamas*⁵ (*Negamā*, i.e. the bankers, business magnates and rich land-owners who functioned at the same time as Mayors, Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace).

If such were the office and worldly position of a *Rāṣṭriya* or *Rāṣṭrika*, there is no wonder that Pushyagupta, a *Rāṣṭriya* under Chandragupta Maurya, should be described as a Vaiśya in Rudradāman's inscription. But the question still is—was he appointed by Chandragupta to function as the Governor or Imperial High Commissioner of Surāshṭra?

From Rudradāman's inscription, it is evident no doubt, that the Yavana-rājā Tuṣāspḥa became an independent chieftain or ruler of Surāshṭra, may be of Surāshṭra-Ānarta, i.e. the whole of

¹ Barua, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, ii, p. 264.

² *Majjhima*, ii, pp. 54ff; Malalasekera, *Dict. of Pali Proper Names*, ii, pp. 706ff.

³ *Papañca-sūdanī*, Siamese Ed., iii, p. 269.

⁴ *Jātaka*, v, p. 178: *Senāpati-pamukkhāni asīti-amaccasahassāni Purohita-pamukkhāni saṭṭhi-brāhmaṇa-sahassāni Raṭṭhika-negamādayo bahū pakkosāpetvā.*

⁵ Cf. *Jātaka*, vi.

Kāthiāwār, sometime after Aśoka. The ancient name of Junāgaḍh itself indicates that the city with the hill-fort was built by a Yavana ruler. Rudradāman himself appointed a Pahlava (Parthian or Persian), named Suviśāla, son of Kulaipa, as *Amātya* (Governor), for the whole of Surāshṭra and Ānarta. Can we say that this was in keeping with the Maurya tradition, particularly Aśoka?

The Yerraguḍi copy of M.R.E. goes to show that the Imperial Agent or Commissioner at the place was a *Rajjuka* to whom the message to be proclaimed was despatched from the capital with the direction that he should, in his turn, commend it to the people (*jānapadam*) as well as the *Rāshṭrikas* (*Rāṭhikāni cha*). If any inference is to be drawn from this, it is that in the *jānapada* under this particular *Rajjuka* were the *Rāshṭrikas* besides the general populace.¹ Whether there were any *Mahāmātras* attached to this *Rajjuka* or not, this inscription has nothing to say. If the *Rajjuka* as Regent or Chief Commissioner virtually took the place of the *Kumāra* in the Home Provinces, he, too, must have a body of *Mahāmātras* to assist him in deliberation as well as administration. What was at the Yerraguḍi area, the same was *ex hypothesi* in Surāshṭra (Girnār) Sūnāparānta (Sopārā), Mahārāshṭra (Kopbal), and Mūshaka (Maski).

As Regent or Chief Commissioner for a particular *jānapada* (large administrative area, a Home Province or Division), the *Rajjuka* was responsible to the king as the supreme administrative head of a particular imperial territory. He was to carry on the administration of the *jānapada* placed in his charge with the aid of the *Mahāmātras* and the *Rāshṭrikas*. He was the official medium through which the king's orders, directions and instructions were to be communicated to the *Mahāmātras* entrusted with the administration of towns or of districts within his jurisdiction. The *Purushas* or Personal Secretaries of the king were the official agents to intimate to the *Rajjukas* the king's wishes, instructions and policy shaping the method of administration to be faithfully followed by them in order to please the king, to work to his satisfaction (P.E. IV).

The *jānapada* under a *Rajjuka* was divided into a certain number of *aharas* (smaller administrative areas, say, districts defining the jurisdiction of different classes of *Mahāmātras*), with the *koṭa-vishayas* (fort-areas).

¹ *Samāgatā jānapadā negamā chā samāgatā negama-jānapadā.*

A FEW LITERARY GLIMPSES OF SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE IN MEDIEVAL BENGAL

By, TAPONATH CHAKRABARTY

Medieval Bengali literature is a veritable storehouse of every kind of information, social, religious, economic and cultural. Rich in variety and vast in quantity, the literature of the land often supplies valuable materials for the construction of its social and religious history especially of the age when Śrī Chaitanya was alive and of the period shortly before and after his death. The present paper aims to offer a few broad data of social and religious life in Nadia and adjoining regions which may be gleaned from such literature dealing with the period shortly before the birth of Śrī Chaitanya and the age prior to his initiation in the gospels of bhakti which marked a new epoch in the history of Vaishnavism in Bengal.

The combined testimony of Chaitanyabhāgavata, Chaitanya-charitāmṛta and Advaitaprakāśa, that is to say, the evidence furnished by the authors of the most authentic Chaitanya charitākāvyas, like Vṛndābandās, Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj and Īśān Nāgara, all of whom were nearly of the same age when Chaitanya lived and died, lends support to the view that Vaishnavism shortly before the birth of Śrī Chaitanya and during the early days of his life was not altogether unknown in Bengal, yet it was in a state of infancy, with only a few following and a large number of enemies around. It was through the advent of the Lord Gaurāṅga to the scene and the proselytizing zeal of his followers that Vaishnavism received a new impetus and the tidal wave of bhakti which eventually spread throughout the land had its humble beginning behind the closed doors of solitary apartments in Nabadwīpa, Śāntipura and adjoining villages in Western Bengal. Starting from the birth-place of Śrī Chaitanya, that is, Nabadwīpa, which in the figurative words of the poet, 'was submerged by the tide, the wave spread to Śāntipura which was on the point of being drowned' and thus to all regions lying far and near. The story of its development from an humble creed is no doubt interesting. The present paper, however, aims to show its modest beginning and the social background against which it had to fight and establish itself. The ignorance of the fundamental tenets of Vaishnavism, nay, of the essence of religion, on the part of learned professors and veteran teachers who were engaged in futile scholastic exposition of the sacred scriptures and

dry metaphysical discussions, the indifference of the people at large and their preoccupation with thoughts of material pleasures and enjoyment, the observance of futile religious rites by the common folk, the hostile attitude of critics and opponents whose number ever increased, the aversion of Hindu metaphysical mind to group worship of collective mode of spiritual culture and the occasional, if not constant, persecution of the ruling class; namely of the Muslim Kâzis and local Muslim overlords, —these were, in short, the odds against which the infant creed had to struggle for its existence.

We can well illustrate the point by drawing materials from a few relevant passages of Chaitanyabhâgavata. Thus in one place Vṛndâbandâs gives in a nutshell the prevailing social outlook of the people during the period immediately preceding the birth of Nîmâi and during the early days of his career in Nabadwîpa. All people are here described as being eager for material pleasures. They were keen for wealth, learning and male offspring and no serious quest for one's spiritual welfare could anywhere be found. Persons would laugh in derision at the sight of a Vaishṇava. People would make ridiculous caricatures and repeat comic themes at the instance of Vaishṇavas. The fate of a puritan in life or of a recluse was not considered to be a coveted one. Persons who had the good fortune to be led on horseback or in some kind of vehicle and had a large body of retainers with them, were alone considered to be worthy of respect in popular esteem. Men of letters, especially learned professors, were engaged in fruitless pedantic arguments or useless pedagogy without caring to imbibe or inculcate the essence of spiritual culture.¹ The ordinary religious practices and beliefs of the common people may be gleaned from the following account: As to religion, people cared for the performance of a few social rites. Thus men and women would pass sleepless nights in hearing the songs of minstrels singing the glories of the auspicious mother-goddess Chāṇḍî. With great eclat some would worship Bishahari (probably the snake-deity Manasâ) while others made costly images of such folk-deities. People would spend huge sums or a good lot of money on the occasion of their sons' or daughters' marriage. In such frivolous pursuits, with the observance of such futile shows of piety, people would rest content. The world anon, notes Vṛndâbandâs, thus whiled away its days. Even learned scholars, well versed in the sacred scriptures, formed no exception to the prevailing order of life. The boast of heraldry and the pomp of learning were all that they cared for. The teachers of scriptures

¹ Cf. Chaitanyabhâgavata (published by Nṛitya Gopal Vidyârâtna), I, 6, 32 to 33.

like the Gītā and Śrīmadbhāgavata, would not care to preach the gospel of bhakti that was running through them. None of them cared to sing the glories of Lord Kṛṣṇa or inculcate that it was the only way by which people could be led to eternal bliss at this iron age. Even ascetics and recluses, with sour looks and disgust of worldly life, would not repeat the name of Hari. A few blessed people alone would care to utter the name of Gōvinda or Puṇḍarīkākṣha at the time of their bath. Persons would not utter the name of Kṛṣṇa even on request. The world was fond of conventional modes and practices. No one liked to worship Kṛṣṇa or adore Viṣṇu. With numerous offers, some would worship Bāsulī, while others indulged in ceremonious sacrifices or bacchanalian modes of worship by offering wine and meat. By organizing dances and musical performances, vocal and instrumental, persons would indulge in the prevalent practice of religion. Only the auspicious name of Kṛṣṇa could nowhere be heard. A small group of Viṣṇu worshippers, however, formed a notable exception to the general rule. These devoted bhāgavatas would silently mind their own business and formed a batch by themselves. Being ardent devotees of Kṛṣṇa, they used to sing the glories of their Lord and take their daily ablution bath in the holy waters of the Ganges. The foremost among these Vaishṇavas of Nabadwīpa (in Nadia) at that time was a man called Adwaita Āchāryya. With the sacred waters of the Ganges and the budding twigs of the Tulasī plant he used to worship the image of his favourite Lord Kṛṣṇa. The burden of his constant preaching was that devotion to Lord Kṛṣṇa was the fundamental note of all scriptures. The sage Adwaita thus passed his days in Nabadwīpa. The heathen conduct of the people around gave him no rest. It pained his heart and drew forth his sighs. Among the solitary Vaishṇavas of Nabadwīpa at that age mention may be made of Śrīvāsa and his three brothers; Śrīchandraśekhara, Jagadīśa, Gōpīnātha, Śrī Garuḍa, Murāri, Gaṅgādāsa and so on. Śrīvāsa and his three brothers would incessantly repeat and sing aloud the glories of Kṛṣṇa. Thrice they would take their bath in the waters of the Ganges daily and perform Viṣṇu worship. The sight of the people around pierced the heart of Adwaita, who would often observe fasts and offer prayers to the Almighty for bringing them round. At nightfall Śrīvāsa and his three brothers met in their household and kept singing within their doors the choric songs in praise of Hari. The non-believers had nothing but a smile of contempt for these devotees of Viṣṇu and at the noise of such choric songs the heathen neighbours clamoured and raised murmurs of discontent. Some would remark that by this act Śrīvāsa and his brothers would bring hell upon the people as a whole as this

would enrage the infidel and invoke the wrath of the powerful Yavana (i.e. Muslim) lord of Nadia. Others would opine that it was better in the interest of the village as a whole to drive this Brâhmin (i.e. Śrīvâsa) with his bag and baggage from his household and destroy his dwelling house, for otherwise they would have to face fierce persecution at the hands of the Yavana or Muslim ruler of the land.¹ Amidst their daily round of duties, men and women would often seek to amuse themselves by noticing epic and Puranic scenes enacted by mimic players or listening to such musical accounts from bards and minstrels. Songs in honour of the snake-deity Manasâ or the mother-goddess Chāṇḍī, as already stated, were largely in vogue at that time. The story of the Râmâyana seems to have been especially appealing to popular imagination and it supplied themes for attractive theatrical shows or musical performances. Episodes from the life of the god Kṛṣṇa during his stay in Vṛndâvana more specially seem also to have been enacted by musical parties in a popular way with music and dancing. This is evident from a perusal of a contemporary work entitled 'Śrīkṛṣṇavijaya' by Mâlâdhara Basu (surnamed Guṇarâj Khân) which is known to have been written during the period 1473 to 1481 A.D. The Bengali version of the Râmâyana of Vâlmiki as given by Kṛttivâsa, seems to have been specially designed to meet this popular demand and the universal popularity which the Râmâyana story enjoyed among the common people of that age in Bengal may well be judged from the following account given in Chaitanyabhâgavata (I, 8). We are introduced here before an audience witnessing a theatrical performance of a well-known episode of the Râmâyana. Thus a player in the rôle of Daśaratha is described as bidding good-bye to his life as the news of Râma's exile reached his ear. Kṛṣṇa-yâtrâs or musical performances of the episodes of the life of the god Kṛṣṇa like the Kâliyadamana feat, songs for the glorification of the god Śiva, or the goddess Durgâ or Lakshmî and somewhat later of the god Dharmmadeva or the goddess Shashthî, seem to have been very popular and widely prevalent among the people of that age.² The popular pantheon, thus seems to have included the goddesses Bâsulî, Chāṇḍî, Manasâ, Shashthî, Durgâ, Lakshmî, Sarasvatî, and the gods Śiva, Kshetrapâla, Dharmmadeva and so on. We find reference to the performance of such a Kṛṣṇa-yâtrâ or a musical soiree for the display of some incident of the life of the god Kṛṣṇa through the play of a sort of melodrama, at the house of Chandrasêkhara Âchâryya,

¹ Vide Chaitanyabhâgavata, I, II, 10 to 11.

² Vide Vāṅgalâ Sâhityer Itihâsa by Sukumar Sen, pp. 199-200.

the maternal uncle of Śrī Chaitanya.¹ Vṛndābandās similarly speaks of an occasion when in a rich man's house people witnessed the musical performance of the Kāliyadamana feat of the god Kṛṣṇa. A person in the rôle of a snake under the influence of secret charms imitating the snake-charming feat of the god Kṛṣṇa in the Kāliya lake is said to have kept the audience spell-bound by his mystic dances while the choir band went on singing and drums and cymbals were being played all round. The Kāliyadamana feat of the god Kṛṣṇa formed the burden of their song.² Snake-charming may also be inferred to have been a favourite pastime of the people. Mention may similarly be found of popular musical parties for celebrating the glories of the god Śiva or his consort Durgā. A minstrel is thus described as beating his small drum and singing the glories of the god Śiva.³ A person named Gadādhara is said to have engaged the attention of people by his dances in the garb of Ramā or the goddess Durgā while the members of his party are said to have sung appropriate themes worthy of the occasion.⁴

Musical accounts of the glories of the celebrated Pāla kings of Bengal like Mahāpāla and others seem also to have been very popular at that time.⁵ Men were thus eager to hear such bardic tales of by-gone days. Some of the Pāla kings like Rāmapāla seem to have loomed large in popular imagination. There is a story in a work called 'Sēksubhōdayā' (p. 20-21) which can well account for such popularity. It is said that Rāmapāla was so fond of justice that he impaled his only son to death as the latter committed a wrongful act against a woman. Whatever may be the truth of this tradition, there can be no doubt that some of the Pāla kings were able to earn the goodwill and esteem of the people. Thus Gopāla I, the founder of the Pāla dynasty in Bengal, is said to have been placed on the throne as the result of a popular election. It was the people who chose him as their king to put an end to the state of anarchy or mātsyanyāya which prevailed in Bengal during this period as it appears from the account given by Tārānātha, which receives confirmation from the statement given in the fourth verse of the Khālimpur copper-plate inscription of king Dharmapāla, son of Gopāla I. The extensive popularity enjoyed by king Dharmapāla, the most illustrious monarch of the Pāla line, may well be judged from the account given in verse 13 of the above inscription, which runs as follows: 'Gôpaiḥ sîmni vanecharai rvanabhuvî grâmo-pakanṭhe janaiḥ kṛṣṇadbbhiḥ pratichatvaram sîsuganaiḥ pratyâ-

¹ Chaitanyabhāgavata, II, 18

² *Ibid.*, II, 8.

³ *Ibid.*, III, 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 14.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, II, 18.

paṇam mānapaiḥ līlā-veśmani pañjarôdaraśukai rudgīta mātma-stavam yasyākarnayata strapā-vivalitā-namraṁ sadāivānanam.¹ In the outlying frontier regions the 'gopas', the forest-dwellers in the wild tracts, the villagers in the vicinity of rural areas, the playful children in family habitats, the traders in places of business and the parrots kept encaged in pleasure-houses, were all his admirers. Making due allowance for such pānegyrical account of the poet, we can well understand that Dharmapāla's rule was broad based upon the goodwill and support of his people. In the Āṅgāchhi copper-plate inscription of Vīgrahapāla III, the epithet—'anurāgaikavasati'² as applied to Nayapāla, shows how dear he was to his people. In the same inscription³ king Vīgrahapāladeva is aptly described as—'Pītaḥ sajjana-lôchaniah' and 'chāturv-varṇya-samāśrayaḥ sitayaśa[h puñjai] rjjagadrajayan Śrīmad-vīgrahapāladeva-nṛpati.'⁴ This shows how deeply the king was loved by his subjects. By a careful comparison of the data furnished by the Manahali copper-plate inscription of Madanapāla and the Kamauli copper-plate inscription of Vaidyadeva, the reason of Rāmapāla's popularity may well be explained. The story of the dethronement and defeat of Mahīpāla II, son of Vīgrahapāla III, as the result of a popular rising under the leadership of a Kaivartta chieftain named Divya (or Divyôka) who along with his brother Rudôka and his nephew Bhīma became master of the country for a time, is too well-known to require any mention. It was king Rāmapāla, who by dint of his own prowess, restored the fallen fortune of his family by recovering his fatherland (janakabhū, i.e. Varendri or North Bengal) from the clutch of his enemy, Bhīma, who is described as 'Kshôṇi-nāyaka'. This glorious achievement must have made him famous and we find an echo of it in the pānegyrical account given in the fourth verse of the Kamauli copper-plate inscription of Vaidyadeva, where it is likened to the heroic exploit of the epic hero Rāma, who defeated and killed Rāvaṇa. In the Rāmacharita of Sandhyākara Nandi we find a detailed description as to how Rāmapāla, who was driven from his fatherland, made a long and silent preparation with great fortitude for the restoration of his lost paternal realm. No wonder then that this monarch, the Alfred of this land, should be praised in subsequent literature and be the hero of popular song.⁵ As to Mahīpāla II, Mahāmahopādhyāya H. P. Sastri writes in his introduction to 'Rāmacharita'—

¹ Vide Gaṇḍa-Lekhamālā, p. 14 and Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV, p. 243ff.

² Cf. verse 12, line 17.

³ Cf. verse 13, lines 17-18.

⁴ Gaṇḍa-Lekhamālā, p. 125.

⁵ Vide Vāṅgālā Sāhityer Itihāsa by Sukumar Sen, p. 201.

'Mahîpâla did not pay any heed to the cautious advice of his ministers, he hastily collected a large but ill-disciplined force, and advanced to meet the enemy. His force was routed. The soldiers fled in disorder, and he was defeated and slain.' In the text of the Râmacharita (1, 22) we have the expression—'lôkântara-pranayinô' which the commentator explains as—'paralokagatasya'. The account of the death of Mahîpâla II in battle, is based on this interpretation of the above commentator. According to A. K. Maitreya there is a popular tradition in Varendra-maṇḍala that Mahîpâla forsook the world and became an ascetic and that is why Mahîpâla figured in popular song. There may be some such hint, though the meaning is not clear, in the word - 'śivavadvabhūva'¹ of the Manahali copper-plate inscription of Madanapâla.² If, on the other hand, we assume that Mahîpâla of popular song is Mahîpâla I, we can justify such an assumption by mentioning his achievement, namely reconquest of the paternal realm from a Guḍapati of the foreign Kāmboja race.³ Hence we find an echo of it in the Bāngarh copper-plate inscription of Mahîpâla I⁴—

“[वाङ्] दर्पादनधिकृता-
viluptam rājyamāsādyā pitryām.’⁵ The expression—'anadhiḥkṛta-viluptam rājyam' shows that Mahîpâla I had his kingdom back from persons who had no claim to it. This shows that the rule of the Pâla kings was temporarily suspended owing to the invasion of a foreign enemy who had no legal claim over the land. According to some scholars⁷ the account given in the same inscription Cf. [Deśe prāchi] prachura-payasi svachchha māpiya tōyam svairam bhrāntvā tadānumalayōpatyakā-chaudāneshu (I) kṛtvā [sāndraistarushu jaḍatātṛm] śikarai rabhratulyāḥ prāleyā(dre)ḥ kaṭaka mabhajan yasya senā-gajendrāḥ⁸] offers an evidence of the digvijaya or territorial raid of Mahîpâla I. Mr. A. K. Maitreya, however, thinks that the above description merely indicates the Vicissitudes of the homeless monarch, namely Vīgrahapâla II, father of Mahîpâla I, who moved hither and thither in quest of a shelter and at last found a safe retreat in the valley of the Himalayas.⁹ If the above view be correct, we have every reason to suppose that like Akbar, son of Humāyun, Mahîpâla I, the son of a homeless truant, had some claim for popular consideration.

¹ Cf. Śrīmān Mahîpâla iti dvitīyô dvijēṣa-mauloḥ śivavadvabhūva, v. 13.

² See Gauḍa-Lekhamālā, p. 136.

³ See R. P. Chanda in J.A.S.B. (N.S.), Vol. VII, pp. 615ff.

⁴ Cf. verse 12.

⁵ Lines 23-24.

⁶ Verse, 11, lines 21-23.

⁷ G. L., p. 95.

⁸ See Gauḍa Itihāsa, p. 121.

⁹ Gauḍa-Lekhamālā, p. 100 f.n.

Many of the social customs among Hindus of that age in Bengal seem to be much the same as we find them today. Thus the ceremony of initiating a child in the art of reading and writing seems to have been a popular festival in a Hindu household at that time. This is evident from the account given in a contemporary work, for example Advaitaprakāśa, which is dated in the year 1490 of the Saka era, corresponding to A.D. 1568: Īśān Nāgara, the writer of this work, is said to have been five years of age when his mother brought him from his native village Lāṇḍa in Śrīhaṭṭa or Sylhet to the residence of Advaita Āchāryya at Śāntipura. The very day the mother and the son came to Advaita's household, a gala occasion presented itself in the shape of the ceremony of initiating the eldest son of the Āchāryya in the art of reading and writing. To grace this occasion, namely the work of presenting the alphabet to the boy, it was marked as a day of social festivity for the family. The ceremony of initiating a child in the art of writing and reading the letters of the alphabet is also referred to in Chaitanyabhāgavata (I, 5, 27) where the boy Nimāi is said to have been so initiated by his father, Jagannātha Miśra, who placed a writing chalk in the hand of his son and initiated him in the art of writing, after which came the chūḍākarāṇa ceremony when friends and acquaintances pierced the child's ears with pins. The initiation with the sacred thread or the ceremony of upanayana in the case of a Brāhmin boy was a common custom in Hindu society.¹ The nāmakarāṇa ceremony or the ceremony of fixing the individual proper name of a child seems to have been a customary rite in Hindu household.² The pious observance of the eleventh lunar day in every month by Brāhmins especially seems to have been a common practice in Hindu society. Observance of fasts or some such means of self-discipline and the offering of prayers to the Almighty were common practices during these days.³ During lunar or solar eclipse men and women would flock together to bathe in the Ganges and repeat sacred hymns or sing aloud the glories of God.⁴ It is interesting to note some of the common taboos or petty details of Hindu social life in Bengal. Thus touching earthen wares or other pots rejected after being used in cooking was considered to be an act of impurity for which bathing was necessary.⁵ The case of Tairthika Brāhmaṇa shows that ucchchiṣṭa food or taking food tasted already seems to have been forbidden. Women especially unmarried girls in Hindu society would perform various popular religious rites or vrataṣ.⁶

¹ Gauda-Lekhamālā, I, 6, 38.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 5, 28.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 6, 38.

² *Ibid.*, I, 4, 19.

⁴ Chaitanyabhāgavata, I, 2, 14.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, I, 5, 30.

by offering flowers and fruits. After the birth of a child, a mother in a Hindu household of that age seems to have kept herself confined within the four walls of the labour-room for one month and on the completion of this period she would come out with her baby in arms and purify herself by taking a bath. A few other ladies would also accompany her on such occasion and she would be greeted with music and joy. The ceremony would conclude with the distribution of some quantity of fried rice, ripe plantains, betel-leaves, oil, vermilion powder, etc., among the attendant ladies by the mother of the child or some other female member of her family.¹ The birth of an offspring was considered to be an occasion of joy in a Hindu family. The new-born child would be greeted with music. Flutes and pipes would be blown and drums would be beaten to mark the auspicious occasion while womenfolk would pour in and shower grains of paddy and tufts of green grass on the head of the new-born, praying for its long lease of life.² The new-born infant would be saved from the clutch of evil spirits by uttering various hymns to Vishṇu, Devî (or Pârvatî), Nṛsimha, Aparâjitâ and so on. Some would utter incantations or spells to guard the lying-in-room or the labour-room from all kinds of malevolent influence. Magical charms or mystic spells would also be used to ward off evil influences or bad omens from all the ten quarters. Belief in witchcraft and exorcism was especially prevalent among womenfolk in Bengal. Secret spells were also used to guard children from the danger of snake-bite. To protect children from all these omens safety charms in the shape of magical threads or amulets were probably worn by children and womenfolk seem to be very keen after these things.³ In many Hindu household of that age especially among Brâhmins a room was kept apart for the daily worship of the household deity. The phallic emblem of the god Śiva and the Śâlâgrâma or the stone emblem of the god Nârâyaṇa, the Gôpâla or the Nṛsimha image of the god Vishṇu were often used as household deities.⁴ Such deities were duly worshipped every day and venerated by the members of such families and things offered or dedicated to such worship especially the holy water with which such deities were bathed were considered to have a special charming or sanctifying effect.⁵ The Brâhmins seem to have been the traditional custodians of religion and sacred lore and as such they seem to have occupied the highest position in the social hierarchy. They formed in a sense the intelligentsia of that age and all kinds of priestly

¹ Chaitanyabhâgavata, I, 4, 18.

² Chaitanyabhâgavata, I, 4, 18-20.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 4, 20.

⁴ Vide *supra*, I, 3, 17.

⁵ Cf. the case of Śrīvâsa.

functions or religious duties were performed by them. Going on pilgrimage and offering of oblations to dead ancestors in such holy places like Gayâ were thought to be especially meritorious from the religious standpoint. There were instances among Brâhmins leaving their hearth and home and leading a nomadic religious life wandering from one place of pilgrimage to another.¹ But all Brâhmins were not equally pious and there were instances at that age of Brâhmin youths leading a reckless life. Thus in Jayânanda's Chaitanya-maṅgala (see p. 56) it is stated that the two brothers, Jagâi and Mâdhâi, who were Brâhmin by caste, used to recite 'masnabi' (i.e. Muslim literary texts). It is evident, therefore, that within the fold of orthodox Hindu society of those days there were persons even of the highest class, namely the priestly class, who were addicted to many of the social malpractices like drinking and were fond of the use of foreign dress, foreign language and literature. Observance of the daily triennial worship (trisandhyâ) and the performance of intellectual and priestly duties like yajana, yâjana, adhyayana and adhyâpana, were the common practices among orthodox Brâhmins of those days. But instances of Brâhmins who had nothing but merely the sacrificial thread on their neck as the hollow badge of their superiority were not unknown in Bengal at that time. Thus Vṛndâbandâs in his work (I, 12) speaks of such a Brâhmin living in Râḍha or Western Bengal who posed himself as a second Gôpâla incarnation of the god Viṣṇu. The growing popularity of Śrî Chaitanya made him jealous and he tried to draw around himself men and women by this mystic pose. But in reality he was a scoundrel. Śrî Chaitanya had to face many such rivals. Thus Vṛndâbandâs in his work (vide *ante*) incidentally refers to many such scoundrels who had the audacity to pose themselves as 'Raghu-nâtha' with the ostensible object of material gain by receiving offers of free gifts from the people. In a work called 'Bhakti-ratnâkara' we find mention of such a 'Jayagopâla'. It is clear thus that the infant creed, namely Vaishṇavism, had many enemies both within and without.

As to the external enemies, namely the Yavana rulers of the land, we have evidence to show that although there were stray cases of persecution by local Muslim overlords, or fanatical mullâhs and Kâzis hither and thither, the Government of those days was on the whole tolerant. Hindus and Muslims seemed to have lived as neighbours, each pursuing its own calling. Some of the Hindus were appointed to high offices by Muslim rulers.² The Hindus

¹ Cf. the case of Tairthika Brâhmaṇa given in Chaitanyabhâgavata, I, 4, 22ff.

² Cf. the cases of Rûpa, Sanâtana and so on.

of those days were liberal enough to appoint sometimes Muslims under them. Thus in *Chaitanyacharitāmṛta* (II, 25), the most authoritative account of that age, we have the statement that Hushen Khân Saiyad, the Sultan of Gauda, was formerly employed as an official under Subuddhi Râya, the then Hindu lord of Gauda. Muslim tailors were employed in Hindu household and we find mention of such a tailor working in the house of Śrīvâsa.¹ There were instances among the Muslims too who attended and witnessed with their Hindu neighbours the musical play of the Râmâyana.² The case of Yavana Haridâsa, who was a devout Vaishṇava and an ardent follower of Śrī Chaitanya shows that things were gradually tending towards a happy sense of union between the two rival communities. But instances of religious persecution by Muslims were not unknown. Thus in Jayânanda's *Chaitanyamaṅgala* we find mention of a village named Piralyâ situated near Nabadwîpa whose Muslim inhabitants are said to be in a daggers' drawn relation with their Hindu neighbours, for example Brâhmins. The report by the local Kâzi of the Puliâ village and the fierce torture of Haridâsa at the order of the local Muslim overlord or mulukpati, as mentioned in *Advaitaprakâśa* (9), is an instance of such local communal ill-feeling.

The use of betels for chewing seems to have been known at that distant age in Bengal and aromatic ingredients (guyâ) were used for this purpose for adding flavour. The Durgâpûjâ or the annual worship of the goddess Durgâ seems to have been a favourite festival in almost every Hindu household. It was the fashion then as now-a-days to perform such worship amidst the loud musical notes of drums, cymbals and conch-shells, which were therefore kept for this purpose in most of the Hindu household.³

As to Hindu women of those days, we find them as faithful partners of their husbands, as their silent and affectionate helpers in the journey of life, endowed with the characteristic grace and modesty of their sex, gay in simple attire with the vermilion mark shining on their head; as busy housewives courteous to the family and its gods plying their usual cares; as dutiful daughters-in-law tied in their chain of duties and obligations; as affectionate mothers with the milk of their tenderness for their kiddies; as loving sisters and festive daughters training themselves up for their future rôle before marriage.

Such were in short the social setting in which Vaishnavism, as an infant creed, had to work for mastery. Its new mode of collective

¹ *Chaitanyabhâgavata*, I, 17.

² Cf. *op. cit.*, II, 4 and III, 4.

³ *Op. cit.*, II, 23.

or congregational prayer with its noisy uproar, was something detested by sober people. Silent individual worship or communion with God was a thing known to Hindu metaphysics and the new cult of bhakti with the common practice of choric song in the form of prayer seemed to be an anarchy.¹

¹ Cf Chaitanyabhāgavata, II, 2, 132

THE ĀBHIRS, TRAIKŪTAKS AND MAITRAKS

By TRIBHUVANDAS L. SHAH

These three races lived in India during the first few centuries after Christ.

Much has also been written and published about them. Yet the questions of their origin, end and places of rule are not quite decided. In historical treatises the names of these three races are found in the following order—Ābhirs, Traikūtakas and Maitraks. We have adopted the same order here.

I ĀBHIRS

Origin and relation

The Ābhirs (Āhirs) are at present mostly found in the southern and western portions of Kāthiāwār. In old days the whole of Kāthiāwār was known by the name Saurāṣṭra, which thus is the old as well as the new name of the home of Ābhirs. Again, it is believed that the mediæval rulers of Saurāṣṭra—the Rā' kings of Junāgaḍh—were Ābhirs. At present they (Ābhirs) deal in cattle. So they did in olden times too. They are, and were, a strong people with big bony bodies and great powers of endurance. A section of the Ābhirs had settled in the region which is known as 'Govardhan-Samay' in rock edicts dating B.C. as well as in those dating A.D., where the holy places like Nāsik and Tryambak are situated and where there are the sources of the Kṛṣṇā and the Godāvari.

When we consider the dates of Kṣaharāṭa Nahapāna (according to Prabandh-Cintāmaṇi, Parisiṣṭaparva and Paṭṭāvali they are B.C. 114 to 74; for details see Ancient India by the present writer, Vol. III) and of his son-in-law Rṣavdāt Śak, we have to conclude that both these races—the Kṣaharāṭs and the Śaks—were under Mahākṣatrap Bhūmak, the father of Nahapāna. Bhūmak was one of the three governors appointed by the Yona king Menander, and the region entrusted to him was what now consists of Jodhpur State and Rajputānā. He ruled from B.C. 156 to 115, and his capital was Bhinnamāl. When Nahapāna succeeded him, he at once defeated the last Śuṅga king, Devbhūti by name, became king of Avantī, assumed the title 'king' and struck his own coins. Thus the Kṣaharāṭs and the Śaks spread to Avantī. Then Nahapāna sent an expeditionary force under the combined leadership of his minister Ayam and his son-in-law Rṣavadāt, and thus conquered

the region around Nāsik which was a holy place ('The Coins of Andhra Dynasty' by Dr. Rapson, Nos. 31 to 37; *Anc. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 30 *et seq.*). There he donated money and other things. Thus the Kṣaharāts and Śaks now spread up to 'Govardhan Samay', the region around Nāsik. In B.C. 74 Nahapāna died, leaving no son behind him. His kingdom was divided into three parts. Avantī and Gujarāt (Lāt in those times) were conquered by King Gāndharvasen of Gardabhila dynasty. Ruśavadāt, the son-in-law of Nahapāna, settled in Cutch and Saurāṣṭra; and the remaining portion which was in Southern India, was annexed by the Āndhra king Śātkarṇi No. 17 (see the table at the end). Thus the Ābhirs, who were in Rajputānā only, at the beginning of Nahapāna's rule, had, by the time of his death, spread themselves in Avantī, Govardhan Samay, Saurāṣṭra and Cutch.¹ The Ābhirs in the south were later on called Traikūṭaks because they made the region named Triakūṭ their home. For more details vide A.I., Vol. III, p. 288.

We have stated above that Kṣaharāt Nahapāna,² immediately after coming to the throne, had sent a large army towards south under the leadership of his minister Ayam and his son-in-law Ruśavadāt. They had inflicted a severe defeat on the Āndhra king. The Āndhra ruler considered it—as it was the custom in those times—a great disgrace on him to be defeated while defending a holy place like Nāsik. This is proved by the evidence given in the edict of Queen Balaśree, the mother of Gautamiputra Śātkarṇi (C.A.R. No. 7). Thus the Āndhras were always at daggers drawn with the Kṣaharāts and the Śaks. The Āndhras were eagerly waiting for an opportunity to avenge themselves. How that opportunity came to them in course of time, is explained below.

We have seen that King Gāndharvasen of Gardabhila dynasty had conquered Avantī after Nahapāna's death. Gāndharvasen once saw a beautiful Jaina nun, and being enchanted with her beauty, forcibly got her taken to his harem. The nun's brother, a Jaina monk named Kālikṣūri (Kālkācārya), tried his best to dissuade the king from this sinful course. When he found that the king would not release his sister, he gave up his monkhood, and went out of Avantī after having taken a vow of revenge. He went as far as Sind and Baluchistān and from there he went to Persiā. In the N.W. of Persiā was a territory named Śakasthān, where there were chieftains numbering about a hundred. Kālikṣūri settled there. (It is possible that Kālikṣūri may have travelled

¹ Thus began the settlement of the Ābhirs in Saurāṣṭra and Cutch.

² Nahapāna's coins clearly have the word 'Kṣahrāt'. It is astonishing, therefore, that the scholars call him a 'Śak'.

through Saurāṣṭra from the shores of which he might have gone on board a ship bound for Persiā.) Śakasthān was also called Pāraskūl. Here Kāliksūri stayed for a year and established cordial relations with the chiefs. In those times it was a custom that when the Persian king required military aid, he sent word to the chiefs who were bound to join the ranks with their forces. Death was the penalty of disobedience. Once during Kāliksūri's stay, the chiefs received message to send expeditionary forces to join the Persian army. They had no desire to comply with the message. Kāliksūri then approached them and told them that they need not send the armies if they did not want to do so; and that they might, with their armies, accompany him to India where there was plenty of territory to conquer and rule over. The chiefs liked the proposal. Ships with provisions were made ready. They landed on the shores of Saurāṣṭra. As the rainy season had already set in, they stayed for a time there with the permission of Ṛṣavdāt Śak, the king of Saurāṣṭra. When the season was over, the new Śaks joined force with Ṛṣavdāt, the old Śak, and defeated Gāndharvasen of Avantī. All these details of the establishment of Śaka rule over Avantī are given in Vāyupurāṇ (Gargasamhitā) (Buddhiprakāś, Vol. 76, pp. 88 to 102, article by the late Dewān Bahādur K. H. Dhruv). The Jaina sources also give a similar account (A.I., Vol. III, pp. 340-2). The Śaka rule lasted for seven (according to the Purāṇs) years only. According to Jaina sources it lasted for four years only. Five Śaka kings came to the throne one by one during that period (A.I., Vol. III, pp. 346-52). They brutally persecuted the people. At last Śakāri Vikramāditya, the son of Gāndharvasen, got help from Ariṣṭa-karṇa Śātkarṇi, the Āndhra king, defeated the Śaks, became king of Avantī and started an era known as the Vikrama-era (B.C. 57). Some time later both the Āndhra king and the Gardabhila king combined forces under the leadership of Gautamiputra Śātkarṇi and extirpated their common enemies, the Śaks. In memory of this event, Queen Balaśree, the mother of Gautamiputra Śātkarṇi, got an inscription carved at Nāsik (C.A.R. No. 7; A.I., Vol. IV, p. 280). Thus the Śaks and Ābhirs who had settled in Saurāṣṭra were destroyed; only those of them who had settled in Avantī and in Southern India, and who had established marital relations with local royal families, survived. They are called the Ābhirs by the Purāṇas.

* Ariṣṭa-karṇa Gautamiputra, the 17th Āndhra king, was succeeded by Hāl Śālivāhan (A.I., Vol. IV, pp. 236-7). He appointed the Ābhir chiefs on high and responsible posts. Details of this are given in C.A.R. Nos. 17 and 43. Again, both the Śātkarṇis and Ābhirs had cultivated marital relationship with the Kādambas.

This conclusion is arrived at by Prof. Rao (Part II, pp. 76 to 83; A.I., Vol. IV, pp. 242-6) in his 'Jainism in Southern India', after a thorough scrutiny of Dr. Bühler's evidence. Thus the Ābhirs, Śaks, Kadambas and Śātkaṛṇis were thickly connected with one another in about first century B.C.

Their origin and their place of settlement

The first mention of the Ābhirs having been appointed as responsible chiefs is found in C.A.R. Nos. 17 and 43. In No. 17 it is stated (A.I., Vol. IV, p. 290) that during the time of the Western Mahākṣatrap Rūdrasinha I, the queen who was wife of Vāsīṣṭaputra Śātkaṛṇi, Āndhra king No. 29 and daughter of Rūdrabhūti, the Ābhir commander, had given something in charity.¹ (A.I., Vol. IV, pp. 291-2). In No. 43 it is stated that during the time of the Ābhir king Išvarsen, the son of Maḍhari,² the Śaks who were intimately related to him made some donations (A.I., Vol. III, pp. 303-4). These two edicts show quite clearly that the Ābhirs, the western Kṣatrapas and the Āndhra Śātkaṛṇis had ties of blood with one another. Some more details about the other two will help us to understand the position of the Ābhirs (see their dynastic lists at the end).

The founder of the western Kṣatrapa was Ghṣotik. His son Caṣṭhaṇ was a powerful king. Hence he is generally known as the founder. The dynastic list of these Kṣatrapas is given at the end. It is reproduced from C.A.R.P. 153. The only change introduced is that the beginning of the dynasty is stated to be in A.D. 78, while I have stated it to be A.D. 103³ because according to me the Śaka era began in that year (A.I., Vol. IV, p. 61). The dynastic list of the Āndhras is not wholly or clearly given anywhere.⁴ I have given it in A.I., Vol. IV, pp. 233-8 and have reproduced a relevant portion from it here. A comparative study of these lists will throw a good light on the question in hand.

¹ According to scholars, she was the daughter of Rudradāman. As the edict is damaged, other mistakes also have been committed. The real meaning is quite different.

² This family is known among the Śātkaṛṇi kings.

³ For details vide A.I., Vol. III, pp. 55 to 63. It has also been explained there how several difficulties crop up if A.D. 78 is considered to be the beginning of the Śaka era. It has also been shown how, by fixing up A.D. 103 as the date of its beginning, all the difficulties disappear. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. 30, Oct., p. 112. Dr. R. N. Śāleator states that the date is A.D. 110-12.)

⁴ Pargiter has discussed all possibilities in his 'The Dynastic Lists of the Kali Ages'. His absolute reliance on Purāṇs only has led to certain incompleteness.

We have stated above that Gautamiputra Śātkarni, the 17th Āndhra king, had exterminated the Śaks and the Ābhirs. The Āndhra kings and their friends, the Gardabhils, often visited Śatrufijay, which was a holy place for both of them and they performed religious rites there (Pariśiṣṭaparva, Prabandh-Cintāmaṇi, etc.). The kings were accompanied by large retinues and equally large number of pilgrims. These pilgrims often settled at the place of pilgrimage (see the edicts of Priyadarśin and of Khārvel). It was thus that the Ābhirs began to re-settle in Saurāṣṭra. In A.D. 142, Caṣṭhan conquered Avantī from the Gardabhila king, assumed the title 'king' and established himself on the throne. Then he invaded Saurāṣṭra, the sacred land of pilgrimage,¹ and conquered it, and ended there the rule of Gautamiputra of Āndhra (No. 26) whose coins were found in Kāthiāwār. Then the Caṣṭhanas decided to conquer another centre of pilgrimage, 'Govardhan Samay', in the south. It is not certain whether Rudradāman or his successor conquered it. Of course an improper interpretation of the Sudarśan Lake Inscription has raised Rudradāman much more than he deserves (A.I., Vol. IV, pp. 75 *et seq.*). Be that as it may, it is certain that 'Govardhan Samay' was under the rule of Rudrasinh, the 5th Caṣṭhana king, and that he had appointed the Ābhir chief Rudrabhūti as governor over it (C.A.R. No. 39). The Āndhras had receded further south. The Caṣṭhana power began to decline during the rule of the 8th king. Taking advantage of this opportunity, Išvardatta, the governor of Govardhan Samay, declared himself independent and founded a new dynasty. He ruled from A.D. 261 and further. As the Āndhras had receded as far as Vijaynagar, there was none to check the progress of Išvardatta, up to that limit. Having conquered that much territory, he also, like the Caṣṭhanas, assumed the title 'Mahākṣatrap'; and struck his own coins,² which resemble the Caṣṭhan coins³ in all respects (A.I., Vol. III), and he founded an era, beginning from the time of the rule (A.D. 249) of his father Išvarsen. Thus it can be said that the Ābhir-era began in A.D. 249.

¹ Defence of religion weighed more with kings in those times than conquest of land.

² Rapson states that no coin is found bearing any date between 158 of the Caṣṭhana era (when Dāmsen's rule ended) and 161 of the same era (when the rule of Yaśodāman Kṣatrap began). The reason for that is explained here.

By adding 78 to 158 to 161, we get A.D. 236 to 239. But by adding 103, we get 261 to 264. This explains the political condition in those times.

³ C.A.R. 133: The coins typed (minutely imitated from those of Kṣhatraps), show that certain territories belonging formerly to w. Kṣhatraps had passed into the hands of the Trikuṭaks.

It was also called the Trikuṭa-era, because the Ābhira king had established independent power over Govardhan Saṁay, in which there was a mountain with three peaks (Tri-kuṭ). Rapson says: 'The era used by the Traikūṭaka kings in their inscriptions is identical with that, which has been more commonly known as the Kalchuri or Chedi era, since it was first recognized in the inscriptions of the Kalchuri kings of Chedi. For practical purposes this era may be regarded as beginning in the year A.D. 249' (Fleet, J.R.A.S., 1905, p. 564). My own conclusion is that the Trikuṭak and the Kalchuri are different eras, begun at different places by different kings, but their dates being the same, one is often confused with the other.

From what is stated above, it becomes clear that the Ābhirs were governors appointed by the Caṣṭhans, to rule over southern provinces. The Purāṇs have called them Āndhrabhṛtyas,¹ i.e. 'servants of Andhras'. The name Ābhir originated from Āndhrabhṛtyas (servants of the Āndhras). The Matsya-Purāṇ states that seven Āndhra kings sprang from the original dynasty. This, of course, is not quite correct. True it is, that the Ābhirs were related to the Āndhras and that they were appointed governors by the latter. But in A.D. 249 they asserted their independence. Thence they were under the suzerainty of the Caṣṭhans, who had conquered the Āndhras also. Thus the Ābhirs were the servants of Caṣṭhans. The term 'Āndhrabhṛtyas' should be interpreted in the following manner in which the term 'Shung-bhṛtya' is interpreted. It is to be taken as the Karmadhāraya compound meaning 'An Āndhra who was under somebody else's power' (A.I., Vol. III, p. 29, f.n. 5).

Thus A.D. 249 is the date of the establishment of their independent power. As regards the place of their settlement, we may state that Nāsik is mentioned in the edicts of King Išvarsen and of his son, Mahākṣatrap Išvardatta. It remains to be decided whether Nāsik was the seat of their capital. In southern edicts five important centres are stated. They are: Nāsik, Kanheri, Paithan, Junner and Kalyāṇi. Paithan is out of question here because the Āndhras had receded southwards in A.D. 249 when the Ābhir dynasty was founded. Kalyāṇi, the capital of the Caulukya dynasty, was founded in the fifth century A.D. Kanheri is famous as a cave. Of the remaining two, Junner is eight miles from Nāsik. Now, had Nāsik been the capital, Rṣavdāt would not have sent Ayam to conquer Junner, after he had conquered Nāsik. Hence Junner must have been a more important centre than Nāsik. It

¹ Hindu History, p. 644; A.I., Vol. III, p. 285, f.n. 13.

must have been the capital of the Triraśmi region. In C.A.R., p. 158, para. 132, it is stated, 'Dr Bhagvanlal Indraji accepted the view, on the authority of the Raghuvamśha, that Traikūṭa was in Aparānta but he afterwards preferred to identify with Junner in the Poona district'. In Jaina sources it is stated that a Jaina monk named Vajrasūri (A.D. 22 to 58) arrived at Sopārā (now known as Nāśopārā, near Bombay; there is an edict of Priyadarśin there). Knowing that his death was near, he entrusted the care of the Gaccha (the congregation) to his disciple Vajrasen-sūri, and then went to mount Rathāvarta, where he undertook a vow of fasting unto death, and died. Of course there is no mention of Tri-raśmi in this. We have, however, proved that the region around Nāsik and Junner was a Jaina holy place. Kṣaharāt Nahapān and Gautamīputra Śātkarṇi fought battles there. This region is near Sopārā, and is full of hills.

Again, Vajrasūri was a Jaina preceptor direct in the line of Mahāvīr. During his lifetime he had got many old Jaina places repaired. All these factors lead us to identify Rathāvarta with Tri-raśmi. There is mention of a mountain named Ruṣṣāvarta (i.e. Rathāvarta) in the list of mountains that were in the kingdom of Vāsiṣṭhaputra Dakṣiṇāpatheśvar (C.A.R. No. 13). That is stated by his grandmother, Queen Balaśree, in her edict (A.I., Vol. IV, p. 286). These details lead us to the conclusion that Junner was the capital of the Trikuṭaka kings. Their rule began in A.D. 249. It remains to be found out when their rule ended. It can be said that their rule must have ended during the time of the Gupta emperor Samudragupta, or of Candragupta II. The first ruled from A.D. 330 to 375 (45 years), the second, from A.D. 375 to 413 (38 years). Samudragupta having been the more valiant of the two, it is probable that their rule was ended by him, and that he brought them under his subjection, in about A.D. 350. According to the Purāṇs, the Ābhira dynasty ended with the 7th king.

II TRAIKŪṬAKS

I have proved above that King Samudragupta of the Gupta dynasty had conquered the territory of the Ābhirs, namely, Tri-raśmi or Trikuṭ. This conquest, however, did not mean the total annihilation of the race. The chiefs of the race were appointed governors over the same territory by the Gupta emperor. This state of affairs continued for a century and a half. When in A.D. 467 Samudragupta was succeeded by Kumārgupta, the Gupta empire began to decline in power, and in spite of the efforts of

Buddhagupta or Narsinhgupta to preserve it from ruin (A.D. 495)¹ the suzerainty of the Guptas ended in A.D. 510² during the regime of Bhānugupta or Vainya-Dvādaśāditya. The Guptas had to leave Avantī and to seek shelter under some of their more powerful kith and kin elsewhere. They made one more unsuccessful attempt to regain their lost power and territory and then the dynasty ended.

Samudragupta died in A.D. 467; Kumārgupta, however, came to the throne in A.D. 473. Anarchy and misrule had prevailed during the intervening six years; Vijaysen, the governor of Saurāṣṭra, founded his independent dynasty there, in A.D. 469. His rule lasted for 25 years (A.D. 494). He was succeeded by his son Dharsen, who ruled for five years up to A.D. 499. He was succeeded by his son Dronsen who was declared an independent king and was conferred the title 'Mahārāj' by the Gupta king himself (probably Bhānugupta) in A.D. 505. While this state of affairs prevailed in Saurāṣṭra, Avantī itself was invaded by the Hun-hordes and their chief Tormān, after carrying fire and sword everywhere, had established himself as the king over the territory and in the south in the Vindhya ranges, Dharsen, the son of Indradatta, the governor, had founded his own dynasty there in A.D. 526 (207 of Gupta-era) (C.A.R. No. 44, Pārdi).

In the edict No. 44 referred to above, Dharsen has called himself 'Traikūṭak'. No. 45 edict at Kanheri also makes the mention of a certain 'Vyāghrasen Traikūṭak'. The same edict contains the date G.E. 245 (A.D. 564). Scholars have come to the conclusion, on this basis, that Indradatta was succeeded by Dharsen, who in his turn was succeeded by Vyāghrasen. In the Pārdi edict Dharsen's date is stated to have been A.D. 526, and he calls himself 'the son of Mahārāj Indradatta, a great Vaiṣṇav and Mahārāj'. This indicates that Indradatta had freed himself from the Gupta yoke. Dronsiṃh Maitrak of Vallabhipur assumed the title 'Mahārāj' in A.D. 505; it is probable that Indradatta also became independent during the same time. The rule of Dronsiṃh lasted for 20 years. Indradatta also must have declared himself independent in A.D. 505. His rule probably lasted for 20 years; and Dharsen having succeeded him must have carved the edict at Pārdi in A.D. 526. The chronology of the Traikūṭaka dynasty may now be stated as under:

¹ *Indian Culture*, 1939, p. 410: 'Last date on the coins of Buddhagupta' 176 G.S.; A.D. 495.

² *Ibid.*, p. 410: 'It is therefore clear that in A.D. 502 Guptas claimed the suzerainty over India.'

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|----------------|----|--------------------------------|
| (1) Indradatta | .. | A.D. 505 to 525. |
| (2) Dharsen .. | .. | A.D. 525 to 555 (about). |
| (3) Vyāghrasen | .. | A.D. 555 to 565 (and further). |

These kings have used the Gupta-era in their coins. This shows that they accepted the nominal suzerainty of the Guptas. Some scholars are of the opinion that the Trikūṭaka-era is identical with the Kalcūri-Cedi-era; and hence they take A.D. 249 as the year of the beginning of that dynasty. This, however, does not seem to be plausible and also does not agree with the dates of the Gupta kings. The following statement given in C.A.R.P. 160, f.n. 1, also does not sound very probable: 'It seems not improbable that the Traikūṭakas may be the Mauryas of the Northern Konkan—because no mention of these kings has yet been found in any Indian record.' Hence we conclude that the Ābhirs have used their own era which dates from A.D. 249. This proves that the Ābhirs and Traikūṭaks were different people. This is supported by the evidence of rock-edicts. In the *Mythic Society Journal*, Oct. 1939, p. 30, f.n. 5, it is stated in connection with the edict of the Kadamba king Mayurśarmā who got the Candravalli dam built in the south: 'This tank was constructed by Mayurśarmā of the Kadambas, who defeated Trikūṭas, Ābhirs, Pallavas, Pāriyātriks,¹ Śakasthānes, Sayindriks, Punāls and Mokaries.' This clearly shows that the Ābhirs and Traikūṭaks were separate races.

I shall now try to locate the territory where the Traikūṭaks ruled. Rapson states: 'It is possible that the Traikūṭaka kings may have been ruling in the region of Gujarāt from which their inscriptions and coins are found during their lifetime.' With reference to No. 45 edict found at Pārdi, a village in Surat district of Gujarāt, he says: 'The coins are discovered not only in S. Gujarāt and the Konkan but also in the Marāṭhā country on the other side of the ghāts.' Thus the kingdom of the Traikūṭaks ranged from at least Pārdi in the north to the ghāts in the south. The territory of the Ābhirs was smaller than that of the Traikūṭaks, because their coins are not found in Nāsik, while those of the Traikūṭaks are found. Rapson further states: 'The precise connection between these early Ābhirs and the later Traikūṭaks cannot be proved but it is certain that they ruled in the same region and there is no reason why they may not have belonged to the same dynasty.' 'It is impossible to determine, whether or not, the Ābhirs and Traikūṭaks belonged to the same dynasty or to the same race. All that can be said at present is that the two groups of kings may

¹ Were the Pāriyātriks then residents of Southern India? Are Pāriyātriks of Mt. Aravalli these Pāriyātriks?

well have ruled over substantially the same territory, and that the similar formation of their names which alike ended in Datta or Sena suggest the sort of relationship that may have existed between them.' The long and the short of it is that Rapson has not been able to decide whether they were different people or not. Had he given due attention to the coins of Traikūṭaks, to the titles assumed by them (Ancient India, Vol. III, p. 403, Nos. 103-104), and to the time indicated in their edicts, he would have ample material upon the strength of which he could have come to a decision. The Ābhirs have used their own era dating from A.D. 249 while the Traikūṭaks used the Gupta-era dating from A.D. 319. This use of separate eras is indicative of their respective political status, and of their having been different people. Both of them must have originally been followers of Jainism, because they have the same religious symbols, namely, the Sun, the Moon, and the Caitya. The Traikūṭaks have, however, called themselves 'Param Vaiṣṇavas'. This means that they must have converted themselves from Jainism to Vaiṣṇavism, just as the Guptas had done.

In the light of the points discussed above, we come to the following conclusions. The Ābhirs and the Traikūṭaks were different peoples but they ruled over the same region, namely, Triraśmi. Again, they were originally followers of the same religions but later on they changed their religion from Jainism to Vaiṣṇavism, on account of the Jaina Caṣṭhans having been succeeded by the Vaiṣṇava Guptās. The Ābhirs began their own era, while the Traikūṭaks continued to use the Gupta-era.

III THE MAITRAKS

We shall first try to find out the time of their origin. Two learned articles on the Maitraks, by Shri Jagannāth and by Shri Dhirendranāth Mukherji, have been written in *The Indian Culture*, 1939. In *The Forbes Quarterly*, Vol. VI, No. 3, p. 369, a digest of the articles has been given. In it, five different theories are stated about their time and origin: (1) Dr. Bhagvānīlal Indraji suggested that Maitrak was the Sanskritized form of the word Mer, or Mehtar, the original name of the tribe; (2) Dr. J. F. Fleet expressed 'The Mihiras were a branch of Huns, who under the leadership of Torman and Mihirkul overthrew the power of the early Guptas' (I.A., 1866, p. 361); (3) D. R. Bhandarkar expressed that the Maitraks were like the Gurjars, a tribe allied with the Huns and entered India with them (J.R.A.S., 1909, p. 183); (4) Prof. Monier Williams' Dictionary defines the word as 'a person who worships in a Buddhist temple'; and (5) The writer of the article states that

Maitraks, may be equated with Maitreyak, meaning a particular caste, whose business it was to praise great men (*Indian Culture*, 1939, April, p. 409).

In theories Nos. 2 and 3 above, it is stated that the Maitraks entered India with the Huus to whom they were related. Now this theory does not bear the scrutiny of facts. In the first place, Tormān was the first Hun chief who came to India and established his rule by exterminating the Guptās. The Maitraks, on the other hand, enjoyed responsible and high military posts during the Gupta rule. Their chief was appointed Bhattārka, Commander-in-Chief, by the Guptās. Taking into consideration the fact that the tenure of the office of a Bhattārka was 25 years, it is quite reasonable to conclude that the Maitraks came into power as early as A.D. 469, while Tormān established his rule in A.D. 509. According to the theory No. 4 above, the Maitraks must have been Buddhists. That also is not possible. Their copper-plates, coins and edicts show no traces of Buddhism. On the contrary, the signs on the coins—the Bull and others, and the titles used by them—Param-Maheśvar on their copper-plates, point to the fact that like the Guptās, they must have been followers of the Vedic religion. According to theory No. 1 the Maitraks were connected with Maher or Mihir. The term 'Mihir' means the sun; but as the writer of the article states: 'Out of 21 kings of the dynasty, not one was the devotee of the God sun,—19 are described as worshippers of Śiva; only one Dhardatta, the 5th in the line, is styled as a worshipper of the sun.' Of course there is a race named Mehers in Saurāstra. The members of the race are mostly farmers. These Mehers, however, do not seem to have a very ancient origin, though they may not be wholly ruled out, so long as a definite theory has not been established. Now we turn to theory No. 5. The writer of the article, who has advocated this theory, seems to be working under the belief that the Maitraks were bards of the Guptas. He also states: 'Looking to the similarity of their copper-plates, the Maitraks may very probably have been under the vassalage of the Traikūtakas.' The argument, however, on which he bases this theory, points more to the conclusion that both of them must have flourished at the same time, under a common paramount power. Other evidence also points to the same conclusion.

We have seen that all the five theories are ill founded. Let us now try to come to some conclusions about them in the light of available facts. It has now been proved on the strength of rock-edicts that the Maitraks have used the Gupta-era, which dates from A.D. 319. S. K. Dikṣit, in his article in *Indian Culture*, 1939, pp. 425-29, has made an attempt to prove that the Gupta-era is

but another name of the Vikrama-era, which was begun in B.C. 57. Let us see how far this contention of Dikṣit is true. He argues on the following lines: 'According to the rock-edicts of Kaniska his time must be somewhere between the 3rd and the 23rd year of the Vikrama Era.¹ The fourth Buddhist conference² was convened five hundred years after the Nirvāṇ of Buddha, during the rule of Kaniska.' As Buddha attained Nirvāṇ in B.C. 546,³ Kaniska's time comes to B.C. 45. This is not the place to show the discrepancies in the statements above. But we may well ask in what way are the Guptās to be connected with Kaniska. 'Kaniska dynasty ruled for 150 years after him and the Guptās came to power only after that. This comes to A.D. 75 to 100 as the time of the establishment of the Gupta dynasty, and A.D. 75 to 100 means V.E. 150. Now how does this stand with the writer's contention that the Gupta rule began in V.E. 1 and that the Gupta-era is identical with the Vikrama-era? This contention of Dikṣit is ably refuted by K. L. Baruā, the editor of *The Assam Research Society Journal*, in his article, Oct. 1939, Vol. VII, No. 3, p. 88, in which he has referred to a rock-edict at Nidhanpur of Bhāskervardhan who was a contemporary of the famous Harśa of Kanoj (whose date is irrefutably proved to have been A.D. 630 to 635) and who has given the names of his 'predecessors': following Mr. Mukerji we take the Gupta-era to begin from B.C. 58. Then Harjjara-Varman must have been ruling in A.D. 452 or about 150 years before Bhāsker-Varman. From the Nidhanpur Inscription of Bhāsker-Varman, we gave the names of his eleven ancestors, immediately preceding him, but these do not include the name of Harjjar-Varman. In A.D. 452 the ruling chief according to this genealogy must have been either Kalyān-Varman or Ganapati-Varman. There can be no doubt as to the date of Bhāsker-Varman, who is a contemporary of Harśa-Vardhan and the Chinese pilgrim Yuān-Chwāng, who must have therefore ruled during the first half of the second century. On p. 91, he concludes: 'It is not necessary to discuss other debatable points raised in this article, which are not quite germane to the main controversy at issue.' This refutation by Baruā can be supported by other pieces of

¹ The number is all right. But no mention is made of the Vikrama-era. The writer himself seems to have appended it. Again, Kaniska was a foreigner, and there is no reason why he should have used the Vikrama-era. (Details about the era of Kaniska are given in *Anc. Ind.*, Vol. IV.)

² Later Buddhist books might contain some mention of this. Old Buddhist books contain no reference to it.

³ Buddha attained Nirvāṇ in B.C. 543 (*Anc. Ind.*, Vol. II, Chap. I). B.C. 546 is not a very correct date.

evidence. If we accept that the Gupta-era was begun in B.C. 57 Kumār-Gupta's dates will come to 94 to 136, and Skanda-Gupta's from 136 to 148.¹ It is proved that the kings of Avantī were independent during this time. It is proved, on the strength of their own rock-edicts, the dates of Caṣṭhan and Rudradāman come to 52 and 72 of their own era, which mean A.D. 130 and 150, and 187 and 207 V.E. Now these Kṣatrapas ruled over Avantī. Was then Avantī ruled by two independent dynasties at the same time?

Coming back to the question of their time, the writer states: 'Bhaṭṭārka, the Commander-in-Chief, began his rule in 150th year of the Vallabhai-era (i.e. G.E. 150, A.D. 469) and Maitraka Droṇasimha assumed the title Mahārāj in the 18th year of the Vallabhai-era (A.D. 503).'² But he cannot decide whether the dynasty can be said to have begun in A.D. 469, when the Maitraka-chief was only a Commander-in-Chief, or in 503 when Droṇasimha began to style himself 'Mahārāj'. In this connection he states, 'He had not become independent. It may, however, be objected that the title Senāpati has been used even for the Śuṅga emperor Puṣyamitra. But in that case it was simply reminiscent of his original position and was not used by his successors.' We have, however, to differ from him on the following grounds. Išvarseni was the first great man of the Ābhirs, and yet the era was begun by his son Išvardatta. Bhūmak was the first great Kṣaharāt, and yet the era was begun by his son Nahapāṇ (Ancient India, Vol. III). The Kuṣāna-era was begun by Kaniṣka, though Kaḍaphesis was his predecessor (Ancient India, Vol. IV). Caṣṭhan began the era. Śrigupta was the first great Gupta, and yet the era was begun by a successor of his. Many more instances of the kind can be given. Similarly, though Puṣyamitra paved the way for the foundation of the Śuṅga dynasty, yet it was Agnimitra who was called emperor, and though Bhaṭṭārka originated the Maitraka rule, it was founded on a firm basis by Droṇasimha, the third king in the line. Thus the rule of the dynasty began in A.D. 469. Rapson says: 'Some successor in a dynastic line, who distinguished himself by his valour, begins an era in his name, but dates it from the rule of the original founder of the dynasty, out of regard for him.'

We shall now try to locate their territory. It is now known that the Maitraks had established their power in Saurāṣṭra with

¹ *Indian Culture*, April 1939, by Jagan-Nath, M.A., p. 411: Inscr. of Skanda-gupta. It is clear that Saurāṣṭra was in possession of the Guptas up to the Gupta year 138. (He was an independent emperor at that time.)

² *Indian Culture*, 1939, p. 410: Maitraka kings have continued to use the Gupta-era in dating their records without any break.

Girinagar (modern Junāgaḍh) as its capital. We have now to find out whether the Maitraks settled permanently in Saurāṣṭra or changed their seat of capital. In this connection it should be stated that the Maitraks are also called Vallabhi kings, and that their era is also called the Vallabhai-era. This leads us to conclude that Vallabhipur (modern Vāḷā) was also the seat of their capital for some time. There was a reason for this change of capital. Girinagar was in the vicinity of the lake Sudarśan at the foot of Mt. Raivatak-Ujjayanta or Girnār. A heavy rainfall overflowed its banks and the city was thus in constant danger of floods. In *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, it is stated that during the interval between Candra-Gupta Maurya and Samudragupta Gupta, the city was several times in floods, playing great havoc with the life and property of the people. It is therefore probable that the Maitraks changed their seat of capital. Śrī Jagannāth states, 'The whole city (Girinagar) was in danger of being washed away. For many days and nights, the citizens of Girinagar had no peace of mind. . . The new capital was located at Vallabhi—which means a raised or lofty place. That the name of Vallabhi is quite modern is shown by the absence of any reference to it in very early Buddhist or Hīndu works.' From Jaina sources we come to know that Girnār and Śatruñjay, both of which are Jaina places of pilgrimage, were originally summits of the same mountain. The foot of the Śatruñjay was near Vallabhipur in about the first century B.C. Thus the change of capital from Girinagar to Vallabhipur was in no way inconvenient to the Jains. This shows the far-sighted policy of the Vallabhi kings, because quite a large majority of Saurāṣṭriyans were Jains.¹

We are now hazarding a conjecture. Girnār is also known by the name Raivat. (It is the name most used in Jaina literature.) The Gupta governors, who established an independent kingdom in the south, called themselves Traikūṭaks because of the sacred Jaina mountain, namely, Trikūṭ in their territory. Similarly these chiefs in Saurāṣṭra might have called themselves Raivataks, which became Maitraks (or Maivataks) due to mis-reading of the edicts. Such mis-readings are by no means uncommon.

¹ Both Buddhist and Jaina books contain accounts of religious debates that took place between the Jaina and the Buddhist preceptors at the courts of Vallabhi kings. Durlabhdevī, the sister of Śilāditya—there were seven kings of this name in the line—was married to a king of the Daddak Gūrjar dynasty. Her son, the famous Jaina monk Mallavādi-sūri, defeated the Buddhist monks in such open debates. The point is that the Vallabhi kings always took into consideration the religious feelings of their subjects. Hence, they may have changed the seat of their capital to Vallabhipur.

The relation between the Maitraks and Traikūtakas

Nothing more is known about the relations between them except that both originally were Gupta governors. Mr. D. D. Sampat has recently contributed an article to *Bhārtiya Vidyā*—a quarterly. We give below a relevant quotation from him: 'The Purāṇs take note of the fall of Kuṣāns, and state that their successors were called Vindhyaśakti, whose rule began in A.D. 248. The Vāk must have been Brāhmins because they have performed Aśvamedh sacrifices. Their dynastic name was Traikūtak.¹ The history of the Vākātaks plays an important part in our understanding of the rise and fall of the Gupta dynasty. Candragupta II had given his daughter Prabhāvatī in marriage to Vākātak Rudrasen II. Pravarapur in C.P. was their capital. One of these kings (Puṣyamitra) had formed an alliance with the Ābhirs and had invaded Kumārgupta. Vindhyaśakti, as the Commander of Bhārsīvs, conquered all the new kingdoms that had come into existence after the fall of Śātvāhans.'

The extract quoted above shows that the rule of the Kuṣāns ended in A.D. 248. The capital of Vākātaks was in C.P. which in old times was called Cedi. It is a well-established fact that the kings who adopted the Cedi or the Kalcuri-era mostly flourished in C.P. It is also true that the Cedi-era began in A.D. 249, when the Vākātak dynasty was founded. We have also proved elsewhere that the Ābhirs severed their relations with Caṣṭhans and became independent in A.D. 249. We have also proved that Caṣṭhans, who belonged to the same race as Kuṣāns were originally governors of the Kuṣāns (A.I., Vol. IV). Thus the Cedi or Kalcuri-era in the Northern and Central India, and the Ābhir-era in South India, began in the same year. The Vākātaks, however, were Brāhmins, while the Ābhirs were Jains. We do not agree with Sampat's statement, that the dynastic name of the Vākātaks was Traikūtak. The successors of Vindhyaśakti have nowhere called themselves Traikūtakas or by any other name except Vākātaks. The Ābhirs, on the other hand, have called themselves Traikūtakas. All these facts prove that there existed no relations between the Maitraks and the Traikūtakas.

Vākātak Vindhya ruled for 36 years from A.D. 218 to 284. Then his son Pravarsen I (in whose honour the capital was named Pravarapur) ruled for 60 years. Thus, these two kings ruled for, in all, 96 years (*Bhārtiya Vidyā*, Vol. II, p. 196). Pravarsen was succeeded by a line of weak kings, while other sons of Pravarsen

¹ We differ from this.

were under the vassalage of the successors to the throne. Candragupta II (A.D. 375 to 413) gave his daughter Prabhāvatī in marriage to Rudrasen II of this dynasty (A.D. 375 to 395). Again Candragupta, now related to the Vākātaks, had taken over the control of the kingdom in his own hands, during the minority of the Vākātaks. He had also married Kuverādevī,¹ the daughter of the neighbouring king Nāg of Basir. Thus, Candragupta had firmly established the Gupta influence everywhere. Puṣyamitra, a vassal of the Vākātaks, had risen after forming an alliance with the Ābhirs.² He invaded the Gupta kingdom when Kumārgupta was on the throne. It is not clear whether this Gupta king was Kumārgupta I or II. The first, however, ruled from A.D. 413 to 455 and the rule of the second began from A.D. 473-74. This proves that the Ābhirs not only ruled up to at least 413 A.D., but that they were powerful enough to fight against the Guptas. It is, therefore, more reasonable to conclude that the Ābhira rule ended in A.D. 420 instead of in A.D. 350. Thus the seven kings of the dynasty ruled for 170 years from A.D. 249 to 420.

¹ *Bhārtiya Vidyā*, Vol. II, p. 156: Kuverādevī has been called Mahādevī. The original name of the daughter of Candragupta was Dhruvadevī. We don't know whether her name was later on changed to Kuverādevī.

² This proves that the Ābhirs were in power up to A.D. 413.

MISCELLANEA

DHARMĀDITYA OF THE FARIDPUR PLATES

Dr. Hoernle at first thought that Dharmāditya of the undated Faridpur plate is only a title of Samudragupta (*I.A.*, XXI, pp. 44-45). But later he gave up this view and he (as mentioned by Pargiter) and F. E. Pargiter thought (Pargiter, 'Three Copperplate Grants from East Bengal', *I.A.*, XXXIX, pp. 193ff) that Dharmāditya is a title of Yaśodharman and that Gōpacandra of the third Faridpur plate, dated the year 19, is a different ruler. However, it seems to us that Dharmāditya is a title, not of Samudragupta nor of Yaśodharman, but of Gōpacandra himself. This will be clear if we examine the first three or four lines in the three Faridpur plates. The phraseology in the beginning of the two plates of Dharmāditya and that of Gōpacandra is strikingly identical. The same epithets are applied to Dharmāditya and Gōpacandra. For example, Dharmāditya is said to be equal with Yayāti and Ambarīṣa in steadfastness in the first line of his plate dated the year 3 (ययात्यम्बरौषसमष्टौ) (*I.A.*, XXXIX, p. 195). In the first line of Gōpacandra's plate also, the same epithet is applied to him and thus he is also said to be equal with Yayāti and Ambarīṣa in steadfastness (*ibid.*, p. 204). Why should the same epithets be applied to Dharmāditya and Gōpacandra in the same order and context unless it be that Dharmāditya and Gōpacandra are one and the same person and that Dharmāditya is only a title of the latter?

Besides the striking identity in phraseology and epithets, there are several other features common to the plates of Dharmāditya and Gōpacandra. Paleographically they belong to one and the same time indicating that they were issued in the time of one and the same ruler. They come from the same tract, namely, Vārakamaṇḍala, perhaps connected with modern Barind, 'a tract of high ground of stiff red clay lying east and west across the middle of North Bengal' (*ibid.*, p. 209).

There are also other reasons for taking Dharmāditya as a title of Gōpacandra and not of Yaśodharman. If it is a title of Yaśodharman, why is it not applied to him in his Mandaśor inscription? There are some difficulties if we do not take Dharmāditya and Gōpacandra as identical. According to Pargiter, who took them as different rulers, the interval between the plate of Dharmāditya, dated the year 3, and that of Gōpacandra, dated the year 19, is 55

years (*ibid.*, p. 200). However, according to the translation of Pargiter himself, which we accept here for the sake of argument, Śivacandra is said to be the person in all the three Faridpur plates who separated the lands to be granted (शिवचन्द्रहस्त-अष्टकनवकनकेनापविष्ठा). It is doubtful whether the same person who served in separating lands at the time of plate 1 continued to be *in service* for 55 years *more* at the time of plate 3. So the interval of 55 years between the two plates, which is the result of taking Dharmāditya and Gōpacandra as different rulers issuing them, is not likely to be possible for the reason stated just above. However, if we take Gōpacandra as identical with Dharmāditya, the interval is only 16 years, the date of Faridpur plate 1, issued by Dharmāditya, being the year 3 and that of plate 3, issued by Gōpacandra, being 19. No era is mentioned for these years. Probably they are regnal years. If the interval is 16 years, which is the result of taking Dharmāditya and Gōpacandra as identical, it is quite possible that Śivacandra continued to serve for 16 years more after the issue of plate 1.

LAKSHMINARAYANA.

THE HINDU BHAKTI-GOD AS PRAJĀPATI

The harmonious ideal of Hindu life seems to have been evolved out of a dialectical process in the history of Aryan culture in India. The early Vedic ideal was the culture of trivarga; the Upaniṣadic-*cum*-Buddhistic ideal was the culture of mokṣa; it is the harmonious Hindu ideal which fulfils life (worldly life) but does not forfeit life hereafter. So the question is: when was the harmonious ideal of life evolved and upheld by the Hindus? Obviously it could not have been evolved in the early Vedic period or in the Upaniṣadic-*cum*-Buddhistic age, for the early Vedic ideal discountenanced Mukti and the Upaniṣadic-*cum*-Buddhistic ideal undervalued worldly life in the R̥gveda-Bhāṣya-bhūmikā (Peterson's Edn., p. 54). Sāyaṇa rightly observes: Vede/pūrvottarakāṇḍayo krameṇa dharmabrahmaṇi viśayah; it was evolved only when popular Bhakti-gods (Śiva, Viṣṇu) were accepted by the Hindus. All the major Hindu gods are like the Roman god Janus, two-headed; they are indeed true to the kindred points of heaven and home. It is their acceptance by Hinduism which has made the Hindu ideal of life such a harmonious and balanced scheme of life.

In order to establish this thesis of mine, I have advanced three hypotheses:—

- (a) I have looked upon Buddhism as the typical ascetic cult of India.

(b) I have interpreted Nirvāṇa as Wishless Prajāpati.

(c) I have equated the Bhakti-god with Prajāpati.

The early Vedic creative theory states that Prajāpati creates per desire and creation is good, noble and enjoyable. Primitive Buddhism or Paṭicca-Samuppāda accepts the desire-theory of creation but comes to the conclusion that creation is sorrow, misery and suffering. Now if Prajāpatism proclaims the goodness and soundness of creation and thus stands for an optimistic outlook on life, Buddhism or Paṭicca-Samuppāda points out the inherent suffering of creation and stands emphatically for a pessimistic outlook on life (worldly life) and as such Buddhism may be looked upon as the typical ascetic cult of India. The Upaniṣadic culture is also an ascetic culture but it is not difficult to come across passages in the Upaniṣads that go to support the cult of Yajña and worldly life. Primitive Buddhism gives no such encouragement to worldly life and its religion (Yajña). The Upaniṣads may be compared to 'standing water'; the flow-tide of Prajāpatism is coming to an end and the ebb-tide of Nirvāṇism is just beginning, but in Buddhism the ebb-tide of Nirvāṇism has most definitely set in to the complete repudiation of the scheme of life upheld and practised by Prajāpatism. The claim of Buddhism to be regarded as the typical ascetic cult of India is clearly substantiated here.

(b) So long it has been the practice, in philosophical circles, to contrast Nirvāṇa with Ātman, Puruṣa, etc.; the strongest possible contrast to Nirvāṇa, however, is found in the conception of Prajāpati. Between Vedāntism, etc. and Buddhism the opposition is simply theoretical but not practical, for both Vedāntism, etc. and Buddhism follow in practical life an identical path—the path of moral consecration and endeavour that leads to Mukti or Nirvāṇa, Sarvasya saṃsārasya dukhātma-katvam sarvatīrthakarasammātam, as the Sarvadarśanasamgraha, p. 12, Cal. Edn., mentions it. The ideal difference may be stated as follows: Vedantism, etc. posit an eternal background (Brahman, Puruṣa) which ontological position Buddhism is loath to accept. Between Prajāpatism and Nirvāṇism the opposition is not only theoretical (Prajāpatism believes in Prajāpati, a personal creator, creating per desire whereas Buddhism proves that a person, completely real by himself, is a myth) but practical also; for Prajāpatism follows the path of Yajña or desire and Nirvāṇism follows the path of Vinaya or non-desire, i.e. Prajāpatism upholds trivarga and Buddhism most uncompromisingly upholds Nirvāṇa as the highest good of life. Remembering this opposition (both theoretical and practical) I have equated Nirvāṇa with Wishless Prajāpati.

(c) All the popular gods of Hinduism (Śiva, Viṣṇu) have been equated with Ātman. That is, Vedāntism (whether of Śaṅkara-type or of Rāmānuja-type) is the official philosophy of Hindu India. The theory of Ātman proves that creation is Māyā and as such it declares that an escape from the bondage of Māyā is the highest bliss of life. It goes without saying then that the Ultimate, viewed as Ātman, means that creation is either sorrow and suffering or is a thing of secondary importance (Avidyā, aparāvidyā). Now a sane man who really accepts the theory of Ātman cannot be attached to a zestful scheme of life. Indeed, he will sit down to the feast of life but with defeated joy, thinking that his main business is not with worldly life but with its conquest and negation. Ātmanism and a zestful scheme of life seem therefore to be *eo ipso* incompatible with each other. How to explain then the fact that Hinduism has accepted 'Caturvarga' and not merely the fourth 'Varga' as its mission of life? The difficulty is solved if the 'Prajāpatihood' of the Hindu Bhakti-god is stressed and brought to the forefront. In other words, to give a historical answer to the question why Hinduism upholds the 'Caturvarga' scheme of life, the Hindu Bhakti-god is to be equated with Prajāpati, not merely with Ātman. So it is that I have equated (in my thesis: *The Culture of Harmony*) Śiva, for example, with Prajāpati being guided by the incontestable logic of history. This equation of Śiva, the Hindu Bhakti-god, with Prajāpati not only distinguishes Hindu Bhaktivāda from Buddhistic Bhaktivāda most emphatically but it saves Hinduism from a great disaster: the acceptance of an exclusive moral culture as the ideal of life. All the major gods of Hinduism, as we have just now observed, have been equated with Ātman; the Hindu gods, as gods of grace, are salvation-bestowing gods just like the gods of Buddhism who, apart from the bestowal of Nirvāṇa, have no *locus standi* or *modus operandi*. Now in their Ātman-cum-Salvation-bestowing aspect, the Hindu gods are really other-worldly gods; God as Ātman or Nirvāṇa means that the world is an illusion and the duties and rights of life (worldly life) are, after all, things of secondary importance. But with God, as Prajāpati, all this is radically changed—life becomes real and earnest, the world becomes a substantial place and the duties and rights of life acquire a new and a noble meaning. Hence it is that we have equated the Hindu Bhakti-god with Prajāpati in order that Samsāric life may be accepted as something instinct with inherent nobility and grace.

PHANI BHUSAN ROY.

THE BHĀDĀṆAKA KINGDOM

According to the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, a well-known work on Sanskrit poetics, Apabhraṃśa was spoken by the Takkas, the inhabitants of Maru and the Bhādāṇakas.¹ As the Takkas lived in the Punjab² and Maru is obviously the desert of Rājputānā, the Bhādāṇakas must have, according to this reference, lived in a territory adjoining either one or both of these provinces. In the reigns of Vighararāja IV and Prthvirāja III of Śākambharī, the Bhādāṇakas were an important power. The Bijoliā inscription praises the former of these rulers for having deprived the *Bhādāṇa-pati* of his lustre.³ The *Kharataragachchhapattāvali* of Jinpāla (died V. 1295) mentions the defeat of the Bhādāṇakas as the chief achievement of Prthvirāja III up to the Vikrama year 1239.⁴ As Vighararāja IV is known to have fought against the Tomaras of Delhi, whose territory adjoined both the Punjab and the Sapādalakṣa kingdom of the Chauhāns, one is, on first thoughts, tempted to identify the Bhādāṇakas with the Tomaras. But a reference to our other sources makes us reject any conclusion of this sort. The Bhādāṇakas are mentioned in the *Skandapurāṇa* as ruling over a kingdom comprising 100,000 villages and as distinct from the Tomaras the number of villages in their territory was one lac and a quarter.⁵ The *Sakalatīrtha-stotra* of Siddhasena Sūri puts them between Kanauj and Harṣapura, a town in Śākambharī-deśa, and mentions Siroha and Kammaga as the chief sacred Jaina places in the Bhādāṇaka country.⁶ Now, of these two localities, Siroha is described in the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* of Jinaprabha Sūri as a big town lying on the route leading from Daulatābād to Delhi and as not very far away from the latter of these two cities.⁷ It was situated very much to the north of Alāpura,⁸ which, according to the *Āin-i-Akbarī*, was a town with a fort in the Sarkār of Gwālior. The Bhādāṇaka territory should therefore have comprised the tract including the present district of Gurgāon, a part of the Alwar State, and the Bhiwānī Tahsil of the Hissār District in the Punjab. The territory

¹ *sāpabhraṃśaprayogāḥ sakala-Marubhuvaṣ-Takka-Bhādāṇakādyaḥ* (*Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, G.O.S., p. 51).

² See the *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi* of Hemachandra, IV, 25.

³ Verse 19, *E.I.*, XXVI, p. 104.

⁴ To be published shortly in the *Singhi-Jaina-Granthamālā*.

⁵ *Kumārikākhaṇḍa*, XXXIX.

⁶ *Catalogue of MSS. at Pattana* (G.O.S.), I, p. 156, verse 22. Read verses 22-27 for the general indication of the location of the Bhādāṇaka territory.

⁷ p. 95 (*Singhi-Jaina-Granthamālā* Edition).

⁸ *Ibid.*

thus defined adjoins both the old Takka and Maru lands, could have been once a neighbour of Sapādalakṣa, included Sirṣha, is the home of a dialect which has striking affinities with both Rājasthānī and eastern Panjābī and is inhabited by a people who still preserve the tradition of having fought long and with the greatest determination against the Chauhān rulers Bīsala (Vigraharāja IV) and Prthvirāja III.

DASHARATHA SHARMA.

REVIEWS

NĀMA-RŪPA AND DHARMA-RŪPA (origin and aspects of an ancient, Indian conception), by Maryla Falk, D.Litt. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1943, pp. 189.

The book contains nine chapters and an elaborate and useful index. The treatment is quite good in many places but in some places it is unintelligible. The problems discussed in this book need deeper consideration and clearer presentation. Here we may draw the writer's attention to the following important points. In her discussion on *dharma* she ought to have pointed out that the definitions of the term *dharma* as met with in the Buddhist and Brahmanical works are all one-sided, not to say far-fetched. *Dharma* is an end to be attained in conformity with injunctions in the Vedas. It is to be considered a distinctive quality of men to be achieved by means of action (work, conduct) as enjoined in the Vedas. *Satya* is that which is in conformity with *ṛta* and *ṛta* is that which is in conformity with *satya* and the same as to the relation between *satya* and *dharma*. The relation between *satya* and *dharma* as two aspects of one and the same idea or reality is emphatically brought out in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (I. 4. 14). In Indian literature, the word *dharma* is conveniently employed together not only with *satya* but also with such words as *artha*, *nyāya*, *yukti*, *tarka*, *śīla*, *vinaya*, *sama*, *pañipadā* or the like, evidently to represent two different aspects of one and the same idea. *Dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa* constitute the four ends of the Brahmanical system.

The writer has not explained clearly the meaning of *dharma-kāya* which is to Mahāyāna the *dharma-tā*, the *tathatā*, the *śūnyatā*, *paurāṇadharmashīlitā*, i.e. the element of reality in itself. This *dharma* or *dharma-kāya* is the most essential point in all that is taught by the Buddha (cf. *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, II, p. 267; V, p. 407). Her exposition of *jhāna* (*dhyaṇa*) leaves many things to be desired. *Jhāna* or ecstatic musing was a very long-standing practice similar to the *Yoga* of the Hindus and the four *jhānas* consist in the process of systematic elimination of factors in consciousness. Buddhaghosa, the celebrated Buddhist commentator, speaks of five *jhānas*, a somewhat later classification which had developed out of the four *jhānas* described and differentiated in the sutta portion of the Pāli Canon. *Ekaggatā* is the element of individualization which develops from time to time to *samādhi*. It remains a common factor throughout the *jhānic* process. It is the most essential condition of the entire process of *jhāna* (meditation). In the *Jhānasamyyutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (III, 263-279) Buddha mentions four classes of people who practise *jhāna*.

The writer's explanation of the *Sammādiṭṭhi Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* is not very clear (p. 107 f.n.). She has not clearly explained in the light of this sutta the exact meaning of *nāmarūpa*, the origin of *nāmarūpa*, the cessation of *nāmarūpa*, and the path leading to the cessation of *nāmarūpa*. The *Satipatṭhāna Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, which contains the Buddha's advice to the monks to practise mindfulness, should be carefully read in order to understand the exact meaning of *satipatṭhāna*. It is by the fourfold mastering of mindfulness that one can pass beyond sorrow and lamentation and ills of body and mind and obtain the right path (cf. *Anguttara Nikāya*, IV, 150 foll.; *Dīgha Nikāya*, III, pp. 58-79). *Satipatṭhāna* constitutes a grammar of *jhāna*. It is mindfulness with regard to body (*Majjhima Nikāya*, III, pp. 88-9), sensation, mind, and phenomena (*dhammā*). Really speaking, it means wakefulness of mind, alertness and self-consciousness.

In her note on *puṅgala* (individuality), it is a pity that she has not referred to the *Puggala-paṇṇatti* which is an important book of Theravāda Buddhism on the subject. She has failed to discuss the point that the problem of 'individuality' is bound up with the problem of the ego, percipient or internal knower (*vedagā*). One is to refer to the *Milinda-pañha* to make his or her idea clear about it.

The book under review is, on the whole, useful and helpful to the study of Buddhism and will be appreciated by all interested in the subject.

C. D. CHATTERJEE.

WAR IN ANCIENT INDIA, by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar. Macmillan & Co., Ltd. Pp. xv+415. Price Rs.15.

This work, sponsored with an appreciative Foreword by the Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University, is claimed by the author in his Preface to be 'the first attempt to give an almost complete exposition of the art and science of war in ancient India, and a consecutive (connected?) account and the history of Indian military tradition from the earliest times to the end of the Vijayanagar epoch'. Although there are already some important works in the field like *The Art of War in Ancient India* by P. C. Chakravarti and a volume with the same title by G. T. Date, we may concede that the author has gone a long way to fulfil his ambitious programme. We find in the present volume an immense mass of data, arranged, on the whole, in chronological sequence and bearing on almost every aspect of the subject. Some idea of its comprehensive treatment may be formed from the titles of its chapters; Ch. I—The psychological background of war, Ch. II—The laws of war, Ch. III—Weapons of war as gathered from literature, Ch. IV—Army and army divisions, Ch. V—Departments of the army, Ch. VI—Strategy and tactics of war, Ch. VII—Aerial and naval warfare, Ch. VIII—Diplomacy and war, Ch. IX—Diplomatic agents. Three appendices, a bibliography and a good index bring this useful volume to a close.

While we have nothing but admiration for the industry and skill with which the author has marshalled his data from the most varied sources (Sanskrit and Tamil literature as well as archaeology), we may make a few observations. The author's use of such chronological labels as 'the Epic age' or 'the Paurāṇic period' is as unhappy as his persistent treatment of tales of Epic and Purāṇic as well as classical Tamil literature as sober history. This attitude is best illustrated by the following typical examples (pp. 34-5): 'If in the Epic Age a Rāma and an Arjuna could come to the extremity of our Peninsula, and in the historical period a Candragupta or a Samudragupta could undertake an expedition to this part of our country, nothing could prevent a king of prowess and vast resources like the Cera king Senguttuvan from carrying his arms to the north . . . In the Puranic period the great Kārtavīrya Arjuna of the Haihaya clan spread his arms throughout the Ancient Indian continent and earned the title of Samrāt . . . Every one knows the fate which overtook the 60,000 sons of Sagara in the course of their search for the sacrificial horse. We are told again that the young sons of Rāma—Lava and Kuśa—had the sacrificial animal of Rāma bound and this led to a great fight. In these cases the army was not certainly maintained for defences, but to satisfy the vainglorious temperament of certain monarchs.' Again, it is unfortunate that the author (pp. 42ff.) pins his faith exclusively to the definition of the Kṣatriya's duties in the Smṛtis, although elsewhere (pp. 180, 190, 193-4) he quotes examples of non-Kṣatriyas following the military occupation. It is also to be regretted that the author has only made occasional use (p. 172, etc.) of the rich material stored in the Pāli and Buddhist Sanskrit literature.

We have noticed some inaccuracies which may be rectified in the next edition. We quote below a few examples: Kalinga, a subject-country under Candragupta Maurya and his son (p. 38), the *Catuh-satikū* reconstructed and edited by MM. Haraprasad Sastri (p. 63); the Ajanta frescoes representing political relations between India and Persia in 625-6 A.D. (p. 140); the Borobudur sculptures ascribed roughly to the eleventh century A.D. (p. 144); the Kambojas colonizing Cambodia about the fourth century A.D. kept up the traditions of the Kashmir schools in the temple of Ankhor (*read* Añkor) Vat (p. 144); elephant representations on the coins of Indonesia (p. 166); obverse of Persian and Macedonian types of coins containing a mounted horseman pursuing two mounted on an elephant and identified with Porus's pursuit on an elephant (p. 150); the Aśvins were a great commercial people having their home in a far-off island and their ruler Tugra maintained a fleet in the interests of his State (p. 187); the Senānī of Vedic literature tops the list of the Rājakṛts or king-makers (p. 220).

The paper, print and get-up of this work are all that can be desired in these trying times.

U. N. GHOSHAL.

IMPORTANT INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE BARODA STATE, Vol. I, by A. S. Gadre. Śrī-Pratāpasīṃha Mahārāja Rājyābhīṣeka Grantha-mālā Memoir No. II.

This is the first monograph on epigraphy published by the Baroda Archaeological Department. It contains twelve select inscriptions of which the dates range between 200 and 1736 A.D. Six of them are brought to light for the first time by Mr. Gadre, while the rest are just re-edited. The Baroda-Mandvi-Gate stone inscription of Dāmāji Rao II of the Gaekwad family is the earliest Sanskrit record of the dynasty as pointed out by Mr. Gadre. We hope that in near future another volume containing the Persian inscriptions will be published. As for the editing of the inscriptions, Mr. Gadre has carefully followed the method adopted so far in the *Epigraphia Indica*. The publication of this kind is praiseworthy as it really helps in writing an authentic history of India.

T. N. C.

INDIAN PICTORIAL ART AS DEVELOPED IN BOOK-ILLUSTRATIONS, by Dr. Hirananda Sastri, Director of Archaeology, Baroda State. Gaekwad's Archaeological Series No. I. Published under the Authority of the Government of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda.

This is the first tangible result of the author's laudable idea to publish a series of memoirs containing the fruits of special studies undertaken by him and his co-workers. In the present monograph he has sought to establish that there existed an indigenous pictorial art in Western India developed in book-illustrations. The information regarding Devidāsa, a painter of Bāsohi, is valuable. In discussing the antiquity of the art of painting or picture-drawing the author might have utilized with profit the testimony of the sūtras of Pāṇini, the Vinaya Piṭaka, the Saṃyutta Nikāya and Buddhaghōṣa's commentaries. The pictorial art developed in book-illustrations may, along with Indian sculptures and paṭacitras, be regarded as the continuation and later development of what the Buddha described as *Karava* or *Carava citra*. Whether or not the Jaina paintings in book-illustrations of Western India tried to represent the Sakas as the typical of non-Aryans needs further investigation. The book on the whole is very useful.

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AKBAR'S KHWABGAH AT FATHPUR SIKRI

By S. K. BANERJI

The small room known as the *Khwabgah* at Fathpur Sikri is a historic building not only because it served as Akbar's retiring room, but also because it corroborates several of A. Fazl's or Badauni's statements about Akbar. Some of them may be quoted here:

- (1) '(Akbar) never wastes his time nor does he omit any necessary duty, so that . . . every action of his life may be considered as an adoration of God.'¹
- (2) 'He (Akbar) passes every moment of his life in self-examination or in adoration of God.'²
- (3) 'His Majesty from his early youth has shown great predilection for the art of painting and gives it every encouragement.'³
- (4) 'In the course of twenty-four hours His Majesty eats but once.'⁴
- (5) 'It is my (Akbar's) duty to be in good understanding with all men.'⁵
- (6) 'At one time a Brahman named Debi . . . was pulled up the wall of the castle sitting on a charpai till he arrived near a balcony which the Emperor had made his bed-chamber. Whilst thus suspended he instructed His Majesty in the secrets and legends of Hinduism.'⁶
- (7) 'His heart was full of reverence for Him who is the true Giver and from a feeling of thankfulness for his past successes he would sit many a morning alone in prayer and meditation.'⁷

The quotations may be multiplied showing that Akbar slept little, was abstemious in diet and a vigorous worker. Let us, however, confess that there is a different picture of Akbar as drawn by Badauni and some of the modern European writers:

- (1) 'Yet there is not a shadow of doubt that many of the noblest of the (Rajput) race were dishonoured on the "Noroza".'⁸

¹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, 154.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, 107.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 57.

⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 385 from *Akbar's Happy Sayings*.

⁶ Badauni (tr.), II, 265.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 203.

⁸ *Noroza* stands for *Nauroz* or *Khushrooz*. See Tod's *Rajasthan* (Routledge), Vol. I, 275.

- (2) 'He (Akbar) followed the practice of his family for many generations in consuming both strong drink and various preparations of opium.'¹
- (3) 'A large number of Shaikhs and *faqirs* were also sent to other places, mostly to Qandahar where they were exchanged for horses.'²

The building under consideration may be able to indicate as to which set of views may be accepted as correct by the great monarch.

Let us first describe the *Khwabgah*. It is one of the two principal chambers of the Khas Mahal, the other being the Turkish Sultana's House. Situated on the first floor, it is in size 14' 3" x 13' 11" and was at one time surrounded by a screened verandah. The rest of the terrace is bare and open. There were two pathways, one leading to Jodh Bai's palace and the other to Turkish Sultana's House. On the ground floor are several rooms, of which one with a high platform is called the *Yogi's* chamber and another painter chamber is supposed to have served Akbar as a dining-room. On the north side is an open courtyard beflagged with red sandstone. There is a cistern at one corner of the courtyard with a hollow stone platform in the centre. On the south side of the *Khwabgah* is a large enclosure with the State record room situated at its south end and a large open stone area at the west end for the Emperor to sit in the open.

The small retiring room itself is very ornately decorated and the ceiling is panelled with the exception of the centre which is carved as a pretty patera in relief and the walls are coloured in light blue. The upper portion of the walls are oblong stone lattices of a Chinese pattern used as shelves and at the top of the door is a window pierced by stone screens. Even the reveals, i.e. the sides of the doorway touched by the leaves of the doors are highly ornamented.

Near the ceiling are inscriptions in ornamented scrolls. The English translation as rendered by the Archaeological Département is given below:

- (1) The Imperial palace in every respect is superior to the exalted paradise.
- (2) There can be no question that it is a sublime paradise.
- (3) This royal palace is elegant, pleasant and exalted.
- (4) It is made to represent the paradise in form.
- (5) The janitor of the paradise may make the floor of this dwelling his looking-glass.

¹ V. Smith's *Akbar* (V.S.A.), 336.

² Badauni, Vol. II, 308.

- (6) The dust of its threshold may become the collyrium of
the black-eyed nymphs.
- (7) The foreheads of those who bow down in adoration like
the angels
- (8) And touch the dust of thy door will shine like Venus.
- (9) What a light! so great that the sun borrows its lustre
from it.
- (10) What generosity! that the world derives light from it.
- (11) May his good fortune cause the country to be populated!
- (12) May the light of his countenance dispel darkness!
- (13) The decorator of the land of Hindustan;
- (14) The destroyer of the thorns of this garden (Hindustan);
- (15) I swear by the Almighty that the happiness of this building
is augmented by its beauty.
- (16) May the felicity of its owner be perpetually increasing.

How fulsome language the Mediaeval rulers used may be seen here. Emperor Akbar who was occupying the chamber was not disgusted with the words, 'the janitor of the paradise may make the floor of this building his looking-glass' nor with 'what a light! so great that the sun borrows its lustre from it'. Probably Akbar was illiterate, at least, in this period and could not comprehend the meaning of the lines around him. Be it what it may, one notices the following historical conclusions from the inscription:

- (1) that the Emperor at this time ruled only Hindustan, including of course the Punjab and that neither Bengal and Bihar nor Gujrat was included in his empire;
- (2) that he desired to suppress the rebels or the disaffected persons in his empire. It was only recently that he had suppressed the Uzbek rebels and the Mirzas and restored peace and order in the land;
- (3) that what he cared for was an increase in the population of his empire and that his various administrative reforms including those in the revenue department were introduced to render his people contented. The happiness of the people seems to be his motto as against Alauddin Khalji who rejoiced in crushing down his own subjects and reducing them to an abject state of penury.

Next we may take up the fresco paintings of the stone wainscoting of the room. Of the eight pictures, not one can be deciphered today, but seventy years ago two of them were described by E. Smith. One represents a hunting scene and a battlemented house full of men, the other a boat in the river. The boat has sails

and contains nine boatmen. The delineation of the individuals has been cleverly made in colour. On the shore is a cluster of houses intermingled with trees and spires. The grouping of the houses has been clumsily done showing that the Mughal artist had little knowledge of the perspective.

There are other frescoes in the reveals of the windows. Two of them have been described by Smith. One represents Buddha in a robe of vermillion and gold sitting in a *dagoba*, the sides and the bottom of which are made of bamboos. On the right side are two headless beings while on the left are two persons, one directing the other to Buddha. The picture is drawn by a Chinese artist as is evident from the drawing of the *dagoba* and its bamboo frame and also from the Chinese features of Buddha as *Yamāntaka*. Evidently the artist emphasizes the worship of the *Yamāntaka* and points out, by a drawing of the killed persons, the fate of those who forsake or oppose the *Yamāntaka*.

There is a second picture only less striking than the one just described. It shows a rock cave in which is standing a winged angel supporting in his arms a new-born babe. Probably the babe represents Christ and the whole scene has been taken from the Bible.

Both these pictures are a testimony to the catholicity of Akbar's mind. In his own retiring chamber, where he passed a considerable portion of his time, he had allowed the pictures of the prophets of other religions to be drawn after their own liking. Instead of an Indian Buddha, we get a Chinese *Yamāntaka* and instead of an Indian temple or *chaitya* we have a Chinese *dagoba*. Similarly in the second picture it is shown a cave of Palestine and the theme is a Christian theme.

These pictures corroborate the statements made by Jahangir and Monserrate that Akbar tolerated all religions. The former says, 'the professors of various faiths had room in the broad expanse of his incomparable sway' and again, 'Sunnis and Shias met in one mosque and Franks and Jews in one church and observed their own forms of worship'.¹ Monserrate confesses that Akbar without any intention of becoming a Christian loved the Jesuit priest, Rudolfus, and says, '... He (Akbar) began to love Rudolfus warmly not because he had any idea of becoming a Christian but because he perceived his love for himself (Akbar) in the fact that he tried so earnestly to induce him to accept this best of all paths to salvation'.² The pictures of both the prophets, Buddha and Christ, in the same room explains the occupier's respect for both

¹ Rogers and Beveridge: *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (tr.), 37.

² *The Commentary of Monserrate*, 194.

of them but not an implicit obedience to the tenets of either of them. Monserrate himself confesses that at the close of the first mission in 1583, one day Akbar mentioned the existence of diverse faiths and expressed his doubts about most of them. The words quoted by Monserrate are, 'I (Akbar) perceive that there are varying customs and beliefs of varying religious paths . . . The followers of each religion regard the institution of their own religion as better than those of any other . . . This causes me to feel many serious doubts and scruples.'¹ That Akbar lived and died a Muslim is maintained by Mr. Sri Ram Sharma in these words, 'Akbar seems to have considered himself Muslim almost to the very end of his life'.² Du Jarric also maintains that Akbar defended his *mullas* against the Christian Fathers.³

There is a third picture on the architrave of a door depicting the fight of two bulls.

These pictures indicate a pleasing trait in Akbar. The Muslim divines in India were hostile to any representation of human beings and animals so that no pictorial art was possible. The orthodox Firuz Shah Tughluq had to remove the pictures from the walls of his palace⁴ and the scholarly and pious Aurangzib had to discontinue the patronage of art. But, Akbar, illiterate though he was, encouraged the artists in every way so that in his time was established an Indian school of painting. This school attained a high excellence and though founded by two Irani artists, Mir Sayyid Ali of Tabriz and Khwaja Abdus Samad of Shiraz, it included many Indians, both Hindu and Muslim, who excelled in their profession. The lives of some of them may be studied in the *Āin-i-Akbari*.⁵

The *Khwabgah* is surrounded by a latticed verandah with a lean-to roof. The stone screens have mostly disappeared but the roof with its decorations on its soffit and imitation stone tiles on the exterior still remain. The *Khwabgah* is connected by two pathways with two of the ladies' buildings, the Turkish Sultana's House and Jodh Bai's palace, enabling the Emperor and his womenfolk to easily meet each other.

Having described the building, we will next notice the significance of the proximity of the *Daftar Khana* and the *Yogi's* chamber.

¹ *The Commentary of Monserrate*, 182.

² See his book on *The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors* (Oxford University Press, 1940), 47.

³ See Du Jarric: *Akbar and the Jesuits* (Routledge & Sons, 1924), 34. Monserrate gives a contrary view, i.e. Akbar took delight in the discomfiture of his own *mullas*.

⁴ See Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, *Futuh-at-i-Firuz Shahi*, 382.

⁵ Vol. I, 107-8.

We have mentioned above that on the south side of the *Khwabgah* beyond the enclosure lies the State record room. It is clear from its location that Akbar regularly inspected the official records and that though devoid of the faculty of reading and writing, he took deep interest in the administration of his empire. It is recorded by Badauni that Todar Mal's new revenue settlement started with a village in the neighbourhood of Fathpur.¹

The *Yogi's* chamber is situated on the ground floor adjacent to the *Khwabgah* and is very much larger in size than the Emperor's retiring room, being 43' × 29' with a few additional cells on the east side. The chamber contains a stone platform raised 7' above from the ground and in area 14' × 12'. This chamber is important for two reasons:

- (1) As E. Smith mentions, the room affords a study of the different stages of the stone mason's work from commencement to finish. While at one corner may be seen a design in embryo sketched out by a pointer, at another corner may be seen the completed work of the masons. Thus it is apparent that the relief work of Fathpur was done *in situ* and not before fixing. Also, the work was not completed at the time of abandonment of the city in 1585. The entire city had been slowly rising out of the ground in these fifteen or sixteen years, 1569-85, and when Akbar, for whatever reasons, deserted it, all his buildings had not arrived at the stage of completion.
- (2) It is a striking fact that a Hindu *yogi* was allowed by a Muslim Emperor a space more than seven times his own. Alauddin Khalji had tried to crush the Hindus in every way possible and even tried to starve them out; Mahmud Ghaznavi and Timur gave out the suppression of Hinduism as their motives for the invasions of India and here we see Akbar actually placing one of the generally despised Hindu ascetics close to his apartments. The very platform of the *Yogi's* chamber is almost equal to the size of the *Khwabgah* itself. That the *yogi* did not reside alone is clear from the number of the cells and the elevation of the platform indicates that ordinarily he would not be disturbed by anyone entering his chamber. The nobles who desired to meet the Emperor in the *Khwabgah* ordinarily would pass through this chamber. While

¹ See Badauni: *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (tr.), 192.

awaiting their turns for interview with the Emperor, they might or might not choose to converse with the *yogi*. If they desired, they would climb up the platform and talk to him, otherwise they would not disturb him. Since many of these visitors would be Muslims, it might have been one of Akbar's subtle ways of making his Muslim nobles familiar with the tenets of Hindu religion. A similar reason may have impelled him to place another recluse of the same religion next to the State treasury popularly known as the *Ankh Michauri*.

Rev. Heras has suggested¹ that the *Yogi's* chamber served as the king's dining-room and that the platform was meant for the use of the musicians who played during the king's refection. It is wholly a surmise and forms an adjunct to the Reverend's main theme that Jodh Bai's palace served as the Emperor's principal residence. We do not see any cogent reason why the hoary traditions handed down from generation to generation by Shaikh Salim Chishti's descendants who are residents of the place from Akbar's time should be rejected, especially when some of the traditions were against their orthodoxy. The residence of a Hindu beggarly recluse would not be dragged in by these orthodox Chishtiwals unless they believed that there was truth in it.

The official guide to Fathpur Sikri² names it the lower *Khwab-gah* and suggests that the chamber was used by the Emperor as the *Jharoka-i-darshan*, i.e. for showing himself to his people every morning. But the surmise does not seem to be correct for the following reasons:—

- (a) The *Jharoka-i-darshan* faces east or west in the Delhi or Agra fort. The custom had grown with the Hindus, and probably with the Muslims also, that at sunrise they should get a glimpse of their Emperor. The window of the *Yogi's* chamber faces the south and hence would not serve such a purpose.
- (b) A large crowd would gather to get a view of the Emperor. The southern enclosure would not allow a large number of people to assemble.
- (c) In order that the Emperor be clearly visible to everyone in the crowd, the *Jharoka-i-darshan* should be situated

¹ See his article on *The Palace of Akbar at Fathpur Sikri* in the *Journal of Indian History*, 1926.

² See Muhammad Ashraf Husain : *A Guide to Fatehpur Sikri*, 25.

on a terrace or raised 30' or more from the ground. The window of the *Yogi's* chamber is only a few feet above the ground.

- (d) The Emperor took his stand in the *Jharoka* for an hour at the most on each occasion and so he would need only a standing or sitting space.¹ The *Yogi's* chamber if used as a *Jharoka* would be too large for the purpose and the Emperor would not allow any waste of space as is evident from his general town-planning. Moreover, the *Khwabgah* on the first storey could easily serve as the *Jharoka-i-darshan*.
- (e) If the chamber was used as the Emperor's room, the adjoining cells served no purpose and the platform too should have been more accessible. As it is, the platform has no steps leading to it and temporary wooden steps would be an unsatisfactory substitute and hence unthinkable. If the platform was used by the Emperor there is no valid reason for the absence of the steps.

We have already mentioned that Akbar used to send for the divines of the different religions and hold a conversation with them in his *Khwabgah*.² Badauni states that several of them, Delhi, Purukhotam, Tajuddin and Mulla Muhammad Yazd were drawn up either in a *charpai* or in a blanket and while suspended in the air, they held discourses with the Emperor on various religious topics. Today, if we examine the south end of the verandah of the *Khwabgah*, we will notice that there is no dripstone throughout the length of the verandah, though it is amply provided in other parts of the wall. The stone slabs forming the dripstone had been taken down for the convenience of those who would draw up the nightly visitors; for otherwise it would have been well-nigh impossible to raise the *charpai* or the blanket to the level of the verandah.

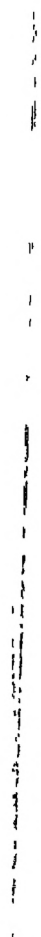
From Badauni's statement it is clear that Akbar invited some Hindus and those Muslims who were not strictly orthodox. Badauni also corroborates A. Fazl's statement that Akbar slept little; for these interviews, according to Badauni, lasted till past midnight and were held on metaphysical topics. May we not assume therefore that a man of his hard life and of his ideals and enquiring nature could not demean himself by yielding to the common failings of a debauchee? Tod's picture that Akbar took pleasure in de-

¹ The space allotted to *Jharoka-i-darshan* in the Delhi fort is small.

² This conversation is different from the religious contests held in the *Ibādal Khana*.

bauching the Rajput and other women does not appear to be in consonance with the life that Akbar led at Fathpur Sikri. It is possible that the Emperor at one stage or the other of his life had taken to drink as stated by Jahangir¹ but we would absolve him of any grosser vice. In fact, the picture that we form of Akbar at Fathpur is that of a sagacious administrator engrossed in work in the day and of a sincere seeker after truth and God at night. Thus the silent *Khwabgah* is eloquently proclaiming today the greatness and the nobility of soul of its founder.

¹ See Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri.



RAO AMARSINGH, THE WELL-KNOWN HERO OF RAJPUTANA

By BISHESHWAR NATH REV

Rao Amarsingh, the elder son of Maharaja Gajsingh of Marwar, was born on 17th April, 1613 A.D., and was by nature an independent, reckless and unyielding prince. This was the main reason why his father selected his younger son Maharajkumar Jaswant Singh I to succeed him on the throne of Marwar. As soon as Amarsingh came to know of this decision he, losing hope of his ancestral throne, took a band of selected Rathors and went to serve at the Mughal Court. Emperor Shah Jahan impressed with his gallantry soon got pleased and awarding him an elephant made him his courtier.¹

After this, Amarsingh took part in several expeditions with the Imperial armies and was bestowed on by the Emperor a Mansab of 2,000 Zat and 1,300 horse² on 14th December, 1629 A.D.

Later, on the 10th December, 1634 A.D., the Emperor pleased with his bravery raised his Mansab to 2,500 Zat and 1,500 horse and again awarded him an elephant, a horse and a flag.³

Next year he accompanied Sayyad Khan Jahan to punish Bundela Junjhar Singh.⁴ In this expedition when the fort of Dhamuni was captured by the Imperial army, Amarsingh decided to wait with his soldiers outside the fort till dawn. But in the meantime, the magazine in the fort caught fire by the sparks from the torches of the freebooters, and blew up a portion of the rampart which killed three hundred men of the Imperial army encamped on the other side of it. Though the casualty list contained a greater number of Amarsingh's own warriors,⁵ yet he managed to help the wounded and kept order in such a splendid manner that no confusion reigned in the army.

¹ *Badshah Nama*, Vol. I, chapter 1, p. 227.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. I, chapter 1, p. 291.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, chapter 2, p. 65.

We learn from the chronicles that on the invitation of Maharaja Gajsingh, he (Amarsingh) reached Lahore on the 9th day of the dark half of Paush, V.S. 1691 (4th December, 1634 A.D.) and was presented before the Emperor, who bestowed on him a Mansab of 2,500 Zat and 1,500 horse and a Jagir of five Parganas. But Col. Tod has written the Vikram year of this event as 1690 (1634 A.D.). (*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. 2, p. 976).

⁴ *Badshah Nama*, Vol. I, chapter 2, p. 96.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, chapter 2, p. 110.

This presence of mind of Amarsingh again pleased the Emperor and on 19th January, 1635 A.D., he raised his Mansab to 3,000 Zat and 1,500 horse.¹

After this, when Sahu Bhonsale, taking out a descendant of Nizamul Mulk's family from the prison in the Gwalior fort raised the banner of revolt, Emperor Shah Jahan himself marched up to Daulatabad and from that place despatched three armies to punish the Bhonsale. In one of these armies, which was sent under the command of Khan Dauran, Amarsingh with his brave Rajputs was placed in the vanguard.² After suppressing this rebellion successfully, when Amarsingh returned to the Imperial Court in 1637 A.D., the Emperor awarded him a robe of honour, a silver caparisoned horse and a Mansab of 3,000 Zat and 2,000 horse.³

The following year when Shuja was sent to Kandhar with the Imperial army, the Emperor again awarded Amarsingh a robe of honour, a silver caparisoned horse and a trumpet and bade him farewell to accompany Shuja.⁴ On 6th May, 1638 A.D., when Amarsingh was at Kabul with Shuja, his father Maharaja Gajsingh died at Agra. In fulfilment of the Maharaja's wishes Emperor Shah Jahan bestowing the title of Raja on Amarsingh's younger brother Jaswant Singh I made him the ruler of Marwar, and awarding the title of Rao to Amarsingh gave him Nagaur as Jagir. Further the Emperor raised his (Amarsingh's) Mansab to 3,000 Zat and 3,000 horse.⁵

In 1639 A.D. the Emperor was again pleased with his bravery and first gave him a horse and afterwards an elephant.⁶

In the month of March, 1641 A.D., the Emperor again ordered Rao Amarsingh to accompany Shahzada Murad towards Kabul and awarded him a robe of honour, a silver caparisoned horse and an elephant.⁷ But after five months, when Jagatsingh, son of Raja Basu rebelled, the Emperor ordered Shahzada Murad and Rao Amarsingh to leave Kabul and go to Paithan via Sialkot to suppress the rebellion.⁸ After about seven months when Jagatsingh accepted the allegiance of the Emperor, the Shahzada and Amarsingh both returned to the Imperial Court.⁹

In the meantime the king of Persia had mobilized his army to capture Kandhar. As soon as this news was received the Emperor raised the Mansab of Rao Amarsingh to 4,000 Zat and 3,000 horse

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, chapter 2, p. 124.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. I, chapter 2, pp. 136-138.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, chapter 2, pp. 246-248.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 37.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 145.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 240.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 97.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 228.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 285.

and awarded him a robe of honour and gold caparisoned horse,¹ and ordered him to accompany Dara Shikoh to check the advance of the Persian army. But as the king of Persia died he returned with Khan Dauran Nasrat Jang in October, 1642 A.D.

Some time after this event Rao Amarsingh fell ill and could not attend the Imperial Court. But when after recovery he attended the Court Salabat Khan—the Shahi Bakshi—being jealous² of the Rao uttered some harsh words,³ which the Rao took as an insult to himself. This was enough to enrage the brave Rathor, who setting aside the etiquette of the Imperial Court as well as ignoring the presence of the Emperor thrust his dagger and pierced the heart of Salabat Khan, thus killing him at the spot.

We learn from the chronicles that at that time Amarsingh so much lost himself in anger that he advanced towards the Emperor and attacked him also with his sword, but it struck the throne

¹ *Badshah Nama*, Vol. II, pp. 293-294.

(This Mansab has also been mentioned in *Badshah Nama*, Vol. II, p. 721.)

² It is already stated that the Rao received Nagaur from the Emperor in Jagir and as the boundaries of Nagaur and Bikaner were adjoining a boundary dispute arose on a trifling matter between the servants of Rao Amarsingh and of Kararsingh, the ruler of Bikaner. But as Rao's servants were unarmed at the time, Kararsingh's men, who were well armed, killed many of them. When this news reached Rao Amarsingh at Agra he sent words to his servants to avenge the death of their brethren. In the meantime Raja Kararsingh, who was in the Deccan, also wrote a letter to Salabat Khan—the Shahi Bakshi—and persuaded him to help the cause of Bikaner. The Bakshi therefore issued orders to appoint a Shahi Amin to inquire into the dispute and forbade both the parties to take any further action into the matter. This was the main cause of the enmity between the Shahi Bakshi and the Rao (*Badshah Nama*, Vol. II, p. 382).

³ It is stated in the chronicles that Salabat Khan addressed the Rao as Gavanr (fool), as is also evident from the following couplet:—

उद्य सुखते गयो कछो, दय करखर कदार ।

बौर कछय पायो नबी, जसद्व जोगद पार ॥

(i.e.) as soon as Salabat Khan uttered the letter 'ग' the Rao took out the dagger and before the Khan could utter the word 'बौर' (fool) the dagger of the Rao went through the heart of the Bakshi.

Badshah Nama describes the valour of Rao Amarsingh in the following words:—

'A young man like Amarsingh who surpassed all the other Rajputs of the well-known families in nobility and valour and for whom the Emperor thought that he accompanied with other Rajput nobles, will die in a great battle fighting against the enemy and will achieve good fame' (Vol. II, p. 281).

Col. Tod writes: Amra was conspicuous for his gallantry, and in all his father's wars in the south was ever foremost in the battle (*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. II, p. 975).

instead and the Emperor escaping death took to his heels and entered the ladies' apartments.¹

Seeing this Khali-ulla-Khan and Arjun Gaud,² two of the attending nobles, attacked the Rao, but when they could not face the enraged brave Rathor successfully, some six or seven other Mansabdars and mace-bearers also joined them. Though Rao Amarsingh faced them bravely yet, being encircled by those nobles—like Abhimanyu, a young hero of Mahabharat—was laid low.³ This event took place on 25th July, 1644 A.D.⁴

Hearing the death of their master fifteen brave Rajputs of the Rao, who were present in the fort at the time attacked the Emperor's servants and within a short time, after wounding two Imperial officers and six mace-bearers, were themselves killed.

¹ Col. Tod writes: He absented himself for a fortnight from court, hunting the boar or the tiger, his only recreation. The emperor (Shah Jahan) reprimanded him for neglecting his duties, and threatened him with a fine. Amra proudly replied that he had only gone to hunt, and as for a fine, he observed putting his hand upon his sword, that was his sole wealth.

The little contrition which this reply evinced determined the king to enforce the fine, and the paymaster-general, Salabat Khan, was sent to Amra's quarters to demand its payment. It was refused, and the observations made by the Sayyid not suiting the temper of Amra, he unceremoniously desired him to depart. The emperor, thus insulted in the person of his officer, issued a mandate for Amra's instant appearance. He obeyed, and having reached the Amm-khas, or grand divan, beheld the king, 'Whose eyes were red with anger' with Salabat in the act of addressing him. Inflamed with passion at the recollection of the injurious language he had just received, perhaps at the king's confirmation of his exclusion from Marwar, he unceremoniously passed the Omrahs of five and seven thousand, as if to address the king; when with a dagger concealed in his sleeve, he stabbed Salabat to the heart. Drawing his sword, he made a blow at the king, which descending on the pillar, shattered the weapon in pieces. The king abandoned his throne and fled to the interior apartments (*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. II, pp. 976-977).

² Col. Tod has written him as the brother-in-law of Rao Amarsingh (*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. II, p. 977).

³ *Badshah Nama*, Vol. II, pp. 380-381.

The Rao was cremated on the bank of the Jumna at Agra. Two of his Ranis became Satis with him there, three got themselves burnt afterwards at Nagaur and one at Udaipur.

The cenotaphs which were built to commemorate them or the Rao's descendants are still standing at Nagaur.

In some chronicles it is stated that the corpse of Rao Amarsingh was thrown in the Jumna.

Col. Tod in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* writes: and his wife, the princess of Bundi, came in person and carried away the dead body of Amra, with which she committed herself to the flames (Vol. II, p. 978).

⁴ In *Badshah Nama* the date of this event is given as H.S. 1054, Salkha, Jamdi-ul-Avval, Thursday (Vol. II, p. 380).

When this news reached the camp of the Rao and was known by the neighbours, Champavat Ballu and Rathor Bihari Singh¹ joined the retainers of Rao Amarsingh and got ready to kill Arjun Gaud. But before they could put their idea into action they were surrounded by an Imperial detachment and shared the fate of their master after laying low a number of Imperial officers.²

Col. Tod writes:

The Bokhara gate by which they gained admission was built up, and henceforward known only as 'Amarsingh's gate', and in proof of the strong impression made by this event it remained closed through centuries, until opened in 1809 by Capt. Geo. Steell of the Bengal engineers.³

Some time after the death of Rao Amarsingh the Emperor bestowed a Mansab of 1,000 Zat and 700 horse on Rayasingh, the elder son of the Rao,⁴ who gradually rose to rank in the Mughal Court.

In 1659 A.D. when Aurangzeb defeating Shuja near Khajwa made him to flee from the field, the former, to avenge himself on Maharaja Jaswant Singh I, raised the Mansab of Rao Rayasingh to 4,000 Zat and 4,000 horse, honoured him with the title of Raja and gave him the State of Jodhpur.⁵ But his plan was frustrated by the said Maharaja.

¹ Previously both of them served Maharaja Gaj Singh (the father of the Rao) and Rao Amarsingh himself, but at present were in the Emperor's service.

In the chronicles of Marwar we find the name of Kumpawat Bhavasingh in place of Bihari Singh.

Col. Tod writes: 'To avenge his death, his retainers, headed by Balu Champawat and Bhao Kumpawat, put on their saffron garments, and a fresh carnage ensued within the Lal Kila... the faithful band was cut to pieces (*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. II, pp. 977-978).

² *Badshah Nama*, Vol. II, pp. 383-384.

³ *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. II, p. 978.

Col. Tod further states:

Since these remarks were written, Captain Steell related to the author a singular anecdote connected with the above circumstance. While the work of demolition was proceeding, Captain Steell was urgently warned by the natives of the danger he incurred in the operation, from a denunciation on the closing of the gate, that it should thenceforward be guarded by a huge serpent—when suddenly, the destruction of the gate being nearly completed, a large cobra-de-capello rushed between his legs, as if in fulfilment of the anathema. Captain Steell fortunately escaped without injury.

(The south gate of the Agra Fort is known as that of Amar Singh.)

(*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. II, pp. 978-979.)

⁴ *Badshah Nama*, Vol. II, p. 403.

⁵ *Alamgir Nama*, p. 288.

In 1676 A.D. when Rayasingh died the Emperor (Aurangzeb) bestowed a Mansab on his son Rao Indrasingh.

When Maharaja Jaswant Singh I died in 1678 A.D., the Emperor to avenge himself on the deceased granted Indrasingh the title of Raja and the administration of Jodhpur State.¹ But this time the loyal nobles of the late Maharaja did not allow him to succeed.

Indrasingh rose to a Mansab of 5,000 Zai and 2,000 horse. In 1716 A.D. Maharaja Ajitsingh of Marwar deprived him of Nagaur but in 1723 A.D. Emperor Mohammad Shah, being displeased with the Maharaja, re-granted the Jagir of Nagaur to Indrasingh. At last in October, 1726 A.D., Maharaja Abhai Singh snatched the Pargana of Nagaur from Indrasingh and awarded it to his younger brother Rajadhiraj Bakhsh Singh.

At the time of Indrasingh's death at Delhi, in 1732 A.D., he held provinces of Sirsa, Bhatner, Poonia and Baihanival² as a mark of Imperial favour.

¹ *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 175-176.

² These facts are corroborated by a letter, dated 4th October, 1732 A.D., of the minister of Rajadhiraj Bakhsh Singh addressed to the agent of Maharaja Abhaisingh of Marwar at the Imperial Court.

EARLY MEDIEVAL HISTORY OF BENGAL

The Khaljis : 1204-1231 A.D.

Chronology and Political History

By ABDUL MAJED KHAN

Conquest of Bengal by the Muslims like the expansion of Islamic dominion in the Deccan was fortuitous. The early Muslim empire builders in Hindusthan, both the Ghaznavides, and their successors the Ghorids, did not go beyond Benares in the east. In both the cases their expeditions up to Benares were plundering raids. Neither the conquest of Bengal nor that of the Deccan was planned by the Turkish Sultans or their Deputies nor were the conquests effected with their approval. On the other hand these conquests were results of a series of plundering raids by adventurers, zealous of augmenting their fortunes beyond the frontiers of the then Muslim dominion in Hindusthan and at the cost of the neighbouring Hindu states. Curiously enough both Bakhtyar, the conqueror of Bengal and Alauddin were Khaljis, a people though originally Turks were not so regarded by the other Turks.¹ It would be wrong, therefore,

¹ The history of the origin of the Khaljis is very obscure. The tenth century writers like Khawarizmi, Istakhri and Ibn Khurdadbeh who shortly preceded them regarded the Khalaj or the Khaljis as they are known to the students of Indian History as originally Turks. The eleventh century writer Kashghari also admitted their Turkish origin but regarded them as the two lost tribes of the Ghuz. Ferishta and Nizamuddin (De, T.A., 132; Briggs, I, 286), however, tried to connect them with the Biblical personage of Noah and again with Chinghiz Khan, but their stories are not worth serious considerations. Both according to the earliest Muslim authorities and modern scholars like Raverty, Bartold and Minorsky the Khaljis were originally Turks. It is not definitely known when the Khaljis came to live in the Helmand valley in Afghanistan but scholars agree with Ibn Khurdadbeh, the author of Masalik-ul-Mamalik that they came there in the days of old. Yaqub-ibn-Lais, is said to have conquered Khalaj, Zabul and other lands. This shows that as early as the ninth century the Khaljis had given their tribal name to their place of residence in Afghanistan. By the time Sabuktigin came to power in the closing part of the tenth century the Khaljis were noticed in the region of Lamaghan (Jalalabad) and Peshawar. Though they had lived long in Afghanistan they could up to at least the tenth century preserve their Turkish characteristics in their appearance, dress, and language. Nizamul-Mulk and Utbi who wrote during the days of the Ghaznavides distinguished the Khaljis from the Afghans. Ferishta also follows them and describes the Khaljis as hangers-on of the Afghans. Utbi, however, went further and differentiated the Khaljis from the Turks as well. In this he was of the same opinion with Firdausi.

to designate the conquest of Bengal and its addition to the domain of Islam as a Turkish feat.

IKHTYARUDDIN MUHAMMAD BAKHTYAR KHALJI

His Early Career

Ikhtyaruddin Muhammad Bakhtyar Khalji¹ the conqueror of Bengal hailed from the Khalji tribe of Garmsir in Ghur. He came to the court of Sultan Muizzuddin of Ghazna for a suitable military service. But his short figure with unusually long hands and 'humble and unprepossessing' appearance disqualified him and the Diwan-i-Arz (Muster-Master General) rejected his application. He was, however, granted a small pension which he refused to accept and came to Hindusthan to seek his fortune. Being rejected in Dihli also he then came to Budaun and was granted a job on a fixed

The Khaljis were not Afghans nor could they be recognized as their own people by the newly migrated Northern Turks due to their long severance of all connection. Thus the Khaljis began to occupy a middle position and were called by their tribal name. Minhaj, the thirteenth century chronicler also distinguished the Khaljis from the Turks. The Turks regarded the Khaljis as Non-Turks and looked down upon them as inferior people.

By the fifteenth century the differentiation between the Afghans and the Khaljis were no more and the Lodis who were in fact a member of the Khaljis were made into Afghans.

(See Raverty, T.N. Tr. 548; Raverty, JASB, 1875, Bartold and Haig in Encyclopaedia of Islam, IV, 876; Minorsky, Bulletin of LSOS, 1940, 417-34).

¹ Raverty, the translator of the T.N., reads the name as Muhammad-i-Bakhtyar or Muhammad son of Bakhtyar. This 'i' of *izafat* he introduces in almost every name that we come across in Minhaj's history of the Khalji rule in Bengal. Blochmann contradicted him and read the name as given above in my text. Raverty in reply said that he found the word *Bin* inserted between Muhammad and Bakhtyar in certain old and reliable MSS. but the majority of MSS. have no *Bin*. It may be there was a copyist's mistake in one MS. which was thus perpetuated in subsequent copies. In the printed Text we have no *Bin* in the present case while the word is expressly mentioned in other cases where they should be. As for the custom of writing the name of the father following that of the son without any *Bin* which has been made much of by Raverty it may be pointed out that if it was universally followed we should not have found any *Bin* in the T.N. or any other Persian writing. Hence this argument is not very convincing. On the other hand we have two points in support of Blochmann's views; First we have محمد بن محمود عم مختيار بود (T.N. Text, 146, fn.) which suggests that the name of the conqueror of Bengal was Bakhtyar. Secondly, *Yar-e-Bakht* in a verse of Isami (p. 96) (Futuh-us-Salatin) seems to be a pun on the name of the conqueror of Bengal. (See T.N. Tr. App. C; JASB, 1875, 79-80 and fn.) Ikhtyaruddin seems to have been the title assumed or granted by Aibak after Bakhtyar's initial successes in Bihar when he was honoured for the first time by Aibak by a present of robe of honour.

salary by Malik Hizabaruddin, the Sipah Salar (Commander-in-Chief) of Badaun.¹

Bakhtyar gave up his service in Badaun and came to Oudh, and Malik Husamuddin Ughul Bak having got proof of his capacity posted him to the fiefs of Bhagwat and Bhuili² on the frontier and within the region between the Karmanasa and the Ganges. Beyond

¹ The Printed Text as well as Raverty's MSS. have 'Hizabaruddin fixed a certain salary upon him'.

There are various versions as to the activities of Bakhtyar after he left Delhi and before he became a fief-holder under Ughul Bak of Oudh:

(a) According to one version Bakhtyar moved to Budaun and from there to Oudh and got fiefs under Husamuddin Ughul Bak.

(b) The second version is a little detailed, but its text is corrupt in all the MSS. noticed by Raverty. Raverty, however, tried to make out the following story: Ali, styled Nag-awri, entertained Muhammad Mahmud (Muhammad-i-Mahmud in Raverty), paternal uncle of Bakhtyar in his own service. When Ali became the fief-holder of Nag-awr he made over the fief of Kastmandi (or Kashmandi) to Mahmud. And when Mahmud died Bakhtyar became the fief-holder in his uncle's place (p. 549).

(c) The third version is almost the same as (b) (Text, 146, fn.), but there is no mention of Ali's becoming the fief-holder of Nag-awr. Instead it has the statement—

چون مقطع قنوج شد کشتندی او را داد

Now taking the relative importance of the two persons, Mahmud and Ali, and of the two places Kastmandi and Kanauj, it is not improbable to hold that Ali held Kanauj and Mahmud's fief was Kashmandi. Kanauj as Ali's fief is more preferable to the less important Nag-awr. The Gahadavala monarchy is known to have survived under Hariscandra, son of Jayaccandra, but the Hindu king had probably no control over Kanauj and had moved to the inaccessible region of Benares and Jaunpur (DENI, I, 546).

Kanauj is within the geographically natural division of Budaun, and it is not improbable that Ali held it under the authority of Hizabaruddin. Bakhtyar was probably in the cash employ of Hizabar till his uncle's death after which he became the fief-holder of Kastmandi directly under Ali, and ultimately under Hizabar. This, if actually was the fact, does not conflict with the version in (a) above.

Isami, pp. 94-97, however, takes Bakhtyar from Dihli to Chitor and then directly to Bengal, pp. 94-97.

² There are variant readings with regard to the names of Bakhtyar's fiefs. Raverty found these names in certain MSS. utilized by him. His identification of the fiefs as given above has been accepted by all the scholars as very satisfactory. (See Hodivala, Studies, 206 also Mirzapore District Gaz., 1911).

The Belkhara inscription of Samvat 1253 or 1197 A.D. also indirectly tends to support Raverty's identification of Bakhtyar's fiefs with the region near and adjoining Chunar. (For the Insc. see ASR, XI, 128-30; JASB, 1911, 673-75). The mention of all the royal titles of the Gahadavala, without the sovereign's proper name by Vijayakarna, the local *Ranaka* of the Chunar region may have some connection with the statement of the T.N. that . . . the fiefs of Bhagwat and Bhuili were conferred upon Bakhtyar and may also reflect the unsettled condition of the . . . country' around.

the Karmanasa in the east lay the non-Muslim territories of Magadha or South Bihar. Bakhtyar took advantage of it and began to raid the territories of Magadha, almost unopposed.¹ One of the cities to have felt the brunt of Bakhtyar's earlier raids was Maner near modern Patna. A series of successful raids made Bakhtyar rich in wealth and militarily powerful. His achievements and successes were soon recognized by Aibak, the Deputy of the Ghorid Sultan in India who conferred on him a robe of honour. Moreover, the Khaljis who were scattered all over Hindusthan as free-booters in the army of the Ghorids got in him a champion of their tribal cause and in fact as the later events show, they flocked round his standard.

¹ At this time there was practically no ruler of importance in Magadha. As early as in the reign of Ramapala, the last great ruler of the Imperial Palas there were in addition to Pala Samantas of Pithi, two petty chiefdoms near about Gaya (DHNI, I, 349). After Ramapala's death in 1126 A.D. there were a quick succession of weak rulers on the Pala throne and according to the unanimous opinion of scholars Madanapala came to the throne in 1130 A.D. (DHNI, I, 352). Madanapala ruled for at least eight years as ruler of Bengal and South Bihar after which he was driven out of Bengal by Vijayasena and his reign up to at least the fourteenth year (date in Jaynagara Image Insc., JRASB, 1942, 216) was confined to Magadha. Who succeeded him is not known but there are archaeological evidences of the existence of two more rulers, Palapala and Govindapala. About Palapala nothing is yet definitely known, while Govindapala is known to have ruled near Gaya up to 1161-62 A.D. (JASB, 1921, 6 fn. 2). Though there is no direct evidence to regard Govindapala as a member of the Imperial Pala dynasty, yet 'the nearness of their dates and the findspots of their records suggest that' Madanapala was succeeded by Govindapala (DHNI, I, 369). After Govindapala, there was according to a Buddhist Sanskrit work no ruler within at least thirty-eight years (JASB, NS, 1921, pp. 14ff.)

Even before the final collapse of the Palas their hold on Magadha was greatly weakened. Govindacandra of the Gahadavala dynasty was master of the neighbourhood of Patna as early as 1124 A.D. (JASB, 1922, 81-84) and by 1146 A.D. he had extended his dominion up to Mudgagiri or Monghyr (EI, VII, 98-100). Archaeological records prove the dominion of the Gahadavalas over Shahabad in 1169 A.D. (EI, V, App. p. 22) and over Bodh-Gaya in 1180 A.D. (IHQ, 1929, 14-30). The process of gradual annexation of Magadha by the Gahadavalas would have resulted in the complete occupation by the rulers of Kanauj and Benares, but for the trouble that arose in the North-West which drew their full attention. Archaeological records prove the existence of a line of rulers called the Senas of Pithi, who, according to the Tibetan records, were vassals of the Muslims and are generally placed in the thirteenth century (DUHB, I, 259-61).

Direct archaeological evidence is lacking to prove that the Senas of Bengal had anything to do with Magadha. A verse of Sarana who wrote during Lakshmanasena's reign claims amongst other victories of the king, the overlordship of Magadha also. But this was possibly nothing more than the eulogy of the poet (verse quoted in *प्राचीन बांला की वाङ्मानी* by सुकुमार सेन p. 15).

The fact that Bihar or Magadha had no ruler is proved from the accounts in the T.N. Bakhtyar is never known to have fought any chief in Magadha. The Śramans of Bihar had to defend themselves.

Conquest of Bihar, 1203 A.D.

After being honoured by Aibak, Bakhtyar continued his plundering raids in Magadha or Bihar as it was known to the Muslims, for a year or two¹ till at last he made an assault on the fortified city of Uddandapaur (or Otantapuri) containing a University and as such called *Bihara* in the native language. The city was defended by 'shaven-headed Brahmanas' (Buddhist Sramans) who finally gave way to Bakhtyar. The Sramanas were put to sword in the first flush of victory but on seeing the pile of books—Bakhtyar learnt too late that it was a University town. Immediately after the victory at Bihar Bakhtyar hurried to meet Aibak at Budaun and the task of its final subjugation was deferred till his return.²

¹ Text, 147.

² Minhaj does not give the date of the conquest of Bihar. Hasan Nizami, the author of *Taj-ul-Maasir*, says that after the conquest of Kalinjar when Aibak was proceeding towards Budaun on his way to Dihli Bakhtyar came to pay his respects from the direction of Awdandbihar (اودندبهار) not Oudh and Bihar as misread by Elliot, II, 232. See T.N. Tr. App. D). The date of the Kalinjar conquest as given in the *Taj-ul-Maasir* has been read by Elliot as Monday, 20th Rajab, 599 H. The year 599 H. is corroborated by another contemporary work, *Tarikh-i-Fakhruddin Mubarakshahi* (Ed. Ross, 24). Ferishta also gives the same year (Briggs, I, 197-198). Thus the year 599 H. is established beyond all reasonable doubts. Elliot's reading of the day of the month as 20th Rajab is rather wrong, as the 20th Rajab of 599 H. does not fall on Monday, while the 20th Rajab of 598 H. corresponds to the week-day given. Since 598 H. is out of the question the explanation offered by Hodivala for Elliot's misreading is quite reasonable, and it is quite possible that Elliot read بیست (20th) for هشت (8th) which are almost similar in Semitic script. (Hodivala, *Studies*, 183). The day of the month was, therefore, 8th. This date (8th Rajab, 599 H.), the Christian equivalent of which was 24th March, 1203 A.D., again was, as is natural for a contemporary chronicler to record, a *Ruyyat* date and not a *Hisabi* date, the former being one day ahead of the latter.

The next point to determine is the place where Bakhtyar met Aibak. The T.N. does not name any place definitely, but Raverty says that it took place at Dihli (p. 552) and again elsewhere he says that it was at Mahoba that the meeting took place. *Taj-ul-Maasir* gives us the clear indication that the meeting took place at Budaun. Hasan Nizami says that after Aibak left Kalinjar for Dihli via Budaun 'Ikhtyaruddin Muhammad Bakhtyar . . . came from the direction of Awdandbihar'. Then he narrates the events at the meeting and then he says that 'in a fortunate moment . . . the blessed standards were waved and directed towards Dihli' (Elliot, II, 232) evidently from Budaun.

Considering the distance of Budaun from both Kalinjar and Bihar, the natural conclusion is that the conquests of Bihar and Kalinjar were almost simultaneous. That Bakhtyar did not wait in Bihar after his conquest is apparent from the fact that Bihar was conquered for the second time after his return from Aibak's presence (T.N., 150). The second conquest evidently meant consolidation and other minor annexations in Bihar territory.

A school of scholars following M. Chakravarty are inclined to place the meeting of Bakhtyar and Aibak after the conquest of Bengal, but their contention is not

He met Aibak at Budaun and offered a present of elephants and other jewels and in return obtained a special robe of honour from Aibak's private wardrobe and also other distinctions 'exalting him over the leaders of the time'.

Ikhtyaruddin Muhammad Bakhtyar soon returned to Bihar and consolidated the new conquest and also made a few minor conquests in adjoining territories. The unexpected victory at Bihar followed by the recognition by Aibak raised the morale of his men to a high pitch and he prepared himself for further conquests.

Raid on Nadia: Conquest of Bengal, 1204¹

The news of Bakhtyar's victory and prowess had been broadcast among the neighbouring territories. The ruler of Bengal, Laksmasena also heard the news. His advisors who were mostly Brahmmins belonging to the non-martial classes became panicky and migrated to the geographically more defended regions in the east. The

worth serious consideration for obvious reasons. (For M. Chakravarty's Art, see JASB, 1908, 151ff).

¹ The date of the conquest of Nadia has been variously given by different scholars. Raverty—590 H.; Blochmann—594/95 H. (JASB, 1875, 340); Stewart—1203 A.D. (Hist. of Bengal); R. D. Bannerji—595 H. (Bangalar Itihas, II, 22); M. Chakravarty—596 H. (JASB, 1908, 151-52, 155); N. K. Bhattasali—1202 (I.A., 1923).

M. Chakravarty deserves special consideration. His argument is based on two points, viz., Firstly, the La. Sa. era, beginning in 1119 A.D. together with Minhaj's statement that Laksmasena was on the throne for 80 years when Bakhtyar invaded Bengal; and secondly, the statement 'from the east of Hindusthan from the frontiers of Chin and Machin as far as Irak' (Raverty, 383) in T.N. describing the extent of Ghyasuddin's empire who died in 598 H. (Raverty, 383). About the former point it may be said that the origin of the La. Sa. has not yet been definitely established (DUHB, I, 233-38) and in any case this era was not used in Bengal either by Laksmasena or by his sons and as such they had possibly no connection with it (H.C.R.C. in Asutosh Memorial Vols., Vol. III, pt. 2, Orientalia, 1-5). About the latter point it may be said that joint testimony of Hindu and Muslim records as noticed before does not allow us to place the invasion of Bengal before 1203 A.D. The above statement in the T.N. in the circumstances cannot possibly be regarded as anything more than the eulogy of a Court Chronicler. Mr. Chakravarty himself noticed the conflict of this statement with the facts gathered from Taj-ul-Maasir, but he tried to explain it away.

The date of the conquest of Bihar has been definitely fixed as 1203 A.D. or 599 H. In the following year (١٢٠٤ م. Text—150) by which Minhaj evidently meant the Hijri year 600 that Bengal was invaded. The Christian equivalent of 600 H. was the period from 10th September, 1203 to 28th August, 1204. Now, if the conquest of Bihar was effected in March, 1203, simultaneously with that of Kalinjar a little imagination will allow us to fix Bakhtyar's return from the presence of Aibak in about September-October, 1203. Then allowing 4 or 5 months for consolidation in Bihar and making short preparation for further advance we may

King, however, refused to move away from his residence and had the *Aindri-Mahasanti* rites performed to avert the catastrophe.¹

In the year following that of the conquest of Bihar, Bakhtyar marched upon Bengal and surprised Laksmanasena at his camp at Nadia. While his main army was following him, Bakhtyar with a few followers entered the city as horse-dealers. He passed unopposed till he arrived at the royal palace and surprised the royal guards. The old king thought it prudent to take to flight and escaped by the back-door and rowed down stream to safety. The surprise and the flight of the king had the desired effect on the morale of the people in the city, and before they could recover

place the invasion of Bengal in April, 1204 A.D. June would be too late, for by then the monsoon would set in making the cavalry movement difficult if not impossible in Bengal. It may be said that the period of preparation would then be very short, specially when Bakhtyar was going to fight the king who had defeated the Kasiraja, and the kings of Orissa and Assam; but it should be remembered that whatever might have been the victories of Laksmanasena in his young age he was now an old man. The Sena military machine had definitely weakened and disruption of the kingdom was fast progressing. Ikhtyaruddin counted more on strategy than on strength and was confident of the morale of his people. The Madhainagar inscription of Laksmanasena also proves that the invasion could not take place before August/September, 1203 (Bhadra, 25th yr.). Then again we have the date of Kamarupa campaign (or Tibet expedition as given in T.N.) given in an inscription as March, 1206 A.D. (IHQ, 1927, 843; *ibid.*, 1933, 39ff, Barua—HK, 2111 Bhattacharyya—MNEFP, 54 fn.) which according to T.N. took place not immediately after Bengal conquest but after some years had passed (چون مدت چند سال برآمد Text 151). Not only for consolidation but for gathering informations about the route to Tibet Bakhtyar must have taken a longer period than he took at Bihar and, not unreasonably, more than a year, as Minhaj says 'after some years'. Thus between the two known limits of 1203 and 1206, 1204 is the most reasonable date and its first half satisfies the condition of season and also of the Hijri year 600 H.

¹ Minhaj says that the Brahmins advised the king to migrate and even cited predictions from ancient books about the conquest of Bengal by the Turks. There is no gainsaying that the Brahmins and Merchants and also the king became very much afraid of the Turks. There is corroboration of this statement of Minhaj in the Madhainagar inscription of king Laksmanasena (IB, III). The village of Dapaniya within the circle of Kantapura was granted by the King as Dakshina for the performance of the *Aindri-Mahasanti* rites in 1203, the 25th year of Laksmanasena (JRASB, 1942, 17-21). The purpose of this rite was to avert either occurrence or recurrence of any catastrophe (*ibid.*). In the present case it meant the averting of occurrence and not recurrence as held by Dr. Bhattasali, for the simple reason that Bakhtyar had not come to Bengal in 1203, in which year he had conquered Bihar only. It seems improbable that after the Muslims had come the Sena king could grant lands near the Muslim Head-quarters of Lakhnauti and Devkot, whether Kanatapura is identified with the region near Chalan Beel (*ibid.*) or in Dinajpur (DUHB, I, 20). The performance of the rites shows the decay of the Sena military machine. On this point it may be mentioned that as early as 1196 A.D. one Dommanapala had declared his independence of the Sena king and had granted lands as an independent lord (IHQ, X, 321) in the Sundarban area.

their courage the main army of Bakhtyar arrived and overpowered them.¹

Bakhtyar considering possible the inadvisability of making Nadia the Muslim Headquarters, in view of its close proximity to Vijayapura, moved to North Bengal² and made the Sena city of Lakshmanavati or Lakhnauti, as it was called by the Muslim historians, his capital. Before, however, leaving Nadia Bakhtyar established an outpost at Lakhanor (Nagar) in Birbhum to keep watch on both the Senas at Vijayapura and the Orissans at Mandaran, and also to safeguard the line of communications that passed through Rajmahal passes. As a mark of gratitude for the favours shown by Aibak in the previous year Bakhtyar sent a portion of the booty captured by him to Aibak.

¹ Nadia is not mentioned in any Hindu source as the capital or royal residence of the Senas. According to the *Pavana-dutam* of Dhoyi—, Vijayapura, near the place 'where the *Tapana-Tanaya* (Jamuna) starts off from Bhagirathi,' was the Rājadhāni or the official capital of the Senas (JASB, 1905, 59). Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri identifies Vijayapura with Tribeni in Hooghly district (DUHB. I, 32-33). Considering the early history of the Senas and their rise and also the statement in the Naihāti grant of Ballalasena that his forefathers adorned the Rarh country the identification with Tribeni in the ancient division of Rarh is quite justified. It is possible that the capital was named after the actual founder of the Sena monarchy. The king, however, did not always live at the capital. Two of Lakshmanasena's inscriptions mention a place, Dharyyagrama where the king had his camp in his 25th and 27th year (1203 and 1205/6 A.D. counting *rasaikavimsa* or 27 years in Saka 1127 or 1206 A.D., the date of the compilation of *Sadukti-Karnāmrīta* vide R. L. Mitra, Notices, III, 141). This Dharyyagrama has not yet been identified. Dr. Bhattasali sought to identify it with Rajavadi in Dacca, but his arguments are mostly based on traditions and as such on unstable foundations (JRASB, 1942, 1ff.). It is not unlikely that Nadia was Dharyyagrama, as the place was encircled by two waters of Bhagirathi forming it into an island, as the name Navadvīpa suggests. It was a suitable place for the old king, to live in his old age, outside the busy life of the capital and yet within twenty miles of it. The dates of the inscriptions are very significant, 1203 and 1205/6 A.D. In 1203 Bakhtyar had not yet come and in 1205/6 Muslims were no longer there. Nadia was not made the Muslim capital possibly because of its close proximity to Vijayapura. The importance of Nadia as a non-Muslim political centre is proved from the fact that in 652 H. when Nadia was finally conquered a commemorative coin was issued in Ramadhan, 653 H. by Yuzbak. According to Minhaj the king fled to *Sankanat and Bang*. Phonetic resemblance makes *Sankanat* identifiable with Satgaon which within a century became a chief centre of the Muslims in Bengal. Satgaon is near Tribeni. Minhaj perhaps meant Vijayapura which was situated near Tribeni, probably at Satgaon. The Senas later migrated to Bang or Eastern Bengal. It seems, therefore, that the identification of Dharyyagrama of the Madhainagar and Bhawal plates with Nadia of T.N. is not improbable.

² If the *Karika* of Hari Misra (quoted in JASB, 1896, 20-22) is to be believed, Bakhtyar drove Kesavasena from Varendra or North Bengal, where he was possibly a viceroy.

With headquarters at Lakhnauti Bakhtyar brought the adjoining territories under his sway. Possibly the regions of Kotivarsha and Varendri of the ancient division of the Pundravardhana-bhukti were brought under his control.¹ Khutba and sikka were introduced² and many public works like mosques and colleges were established by Bakhtyar and also by his chief lieutenants. Works of consolidation continued for more than a year when lust for further conquest began to torment his brain.

Invasion of Jainagar, 1205

'Offensive is the best form of defence' was possibly the keynote of Bakhtyar's foreign policy. In order that the Ganga rulers of Orissa might be kept engaged, Bakhtyar, before his departure on Kamarupa campaign despatched Muhammad Sheran and Ahmad Sheran to Lakhanor (Nagar)³ and commissioned them to raid the

¹ 'Barind' of Minhaj evidently meant the Varendri division of the Pundravardhana-bhukti. Minhaj says that the kingdom of Lakhnauti had a wing called Barind. Varendri according to Ramacarita was the name of the region bounded by the Ganges and the Karatoya, the latter of which then flowed through Atrai and Chalan Beel into the Ganges. Devkot was within the ancient division of Kotivarsha. The kingdom established by Bakhtyar may be said roughly to correspond to the modern districts of Rajshahi, Malda, Dinajpur and Western half of Pabna and Bogra.

² Minhaj says that Bakhtyar introduced coinage, while Nizamuddin asserts that he minted coins in his own name (سکه بنام خود کرد). (T.A. I, 5.)

³ Lakhanor has been identified with Nagar, through which lay an ancient pilgrim route connecting Orissa with Northern India (Banerji, Orissa, I, 248). The identification seems to be quite reasonable. The seventh century Chinese traveller Huen Tsang is known to have gone to Odra (Orissa) via Karna-suvarna, the region now represented by the northern part of Murshidabad and Birbhum districts. This proves that there was a highway connecting northern India and Orissa through this region. According to Minhaj, Lakhnauti was equidistant from Lakhanor and Devkot. Devkot is about 75 miles from Gaur while the distance of Nagar or Rajanagore, the capital of the Rajahs of Birbhum, is about 85 miles to the south. The place is now in ruins, but 'enough remains to demonstrate its former existence' (Hunter, S.A.B., IV, 335). Cunningham also is of opinion that Lakhanor was Nagar (ASR, VIII, 146-7). Stewart, in his History of Bengal, makes the same suggestion.

• Geographically and strategically Nagar held a very important position. It defended the route connecting Bengal and Upper India that passed through the passes of Teliagarhi and Sikligalli. It moreover served as an advance base both against the Sena dominion in Rarh (with capital at Vijayapura near Tribeni in Hooghly district) and the Orissan outpost at Mandaran in the Arambagh subdivision of Hooghly district and also guarded the route from Orissa. In addition it served as a check against any hostile move from the Sena outpost at Nadia.

frontiers of the Hindu kingdom of Jajunagar.¹ Muhammad Sheran was engaged in his task till he got the news of the disaster falling upon his master, and then left for Devkot entrusting the command to his brother Ahmad Sheran. It was Rajaraja III, of the Ganga dynasty who was the then ruler of Jajunagar (Orissa) and the first Muslim invasion of the Orissan territories took place in 1205 A.D.²

Tibet Expedition and War with Kamarupa, 1206

Easy success in Bihar and in Bengal made Bakhtyar overconfident in himself and fanned his lust for further victories. To use Barani's language describing Alauddin's successes, 'the world smiled at him, fortune befriended him, and his schemes were generally successful, and so he became more reckless'. He had no Ala-ul Mulk to advise him to subjugate Bengal more completely before proceeding on an expedition in a distant land, geographically inaccessible. The legend of Gushtasib's buried wealth and the story that he came to Hindusthan from Chin via Kamarupa were perhaps responsible for encouraging him in his project. An army of 10,000 horse was prepared. Ali, a Mech, who had been converted to Islam by Bakhtyar agreed to guide the expedition.

Bakhtyar started from Lakhnauti and arrived at Bardhankot on the eastern bank of the Karatoya river.³ Ali, the guide of the

¹ Jajunagar was the name generally applied to Orissa by the Muslim chroniclers. M. Chakravarty has satisfactorily identified it with Jajpur on the Vaitarani river which as late as the last quarter of the eighteenth century bore the name of Jajunagar. R. D. Bannerji sought to identify the place with Jajallanagar in Chat-tisgarh, but at last he admitted that by Jajunagar the Muslims always meant Orissa (Orissa, I, 258).

The Ganga dynasty was ruling in Orissa when Bengal passed under the Khaljis and the incursions of Khaljis in Orissa began. (For M. Chakravarty's art, see JASB, 1909, 217.)

² Ray, DHNI, I, 477.

³ The name is variously read as Mardhankot, Dardhankot, and Bardhankot (Text, 152). There is a Bardhankot in Bogra about 20 miles from Bogra town. Dr. Bhattasali while determining the route of Bakhtyar's Tibet Campaign in IHQ 1933, made an alternative suggestion of Nek-Mardan in Dinajpur district, but it has no big river in front of it. Minhaj says that in front of it there is a big river called Bangmati, Bakmadi, or Begmati. There is no doubt that Karatoya has been meant. Huen Tsang is known to have crossed a river for going to Kamarupa from Pundravardhana. Though he does not definitely name the river, the controversy of identifying the river with either Karatoya or Brahmaputra has been set at rest by Tang-Shu who named the river as Ka-lo-tu or Karatoya (Watters, 186). Though the Karatoya is now almost a dead river it was once very big to justify the description 'of vast magnitude, in magnitude, breadth, and depth . . . three

expedition joined Bakhtyar at Bardhankot. Bakhtyar then moved in a north-easterly direction till he arrived on the northern bank of the Brahmaputra. Proceeding thence eastward the army reached a river over which there was a stone bridge of over twenty spans.¹ Bakhtyar passed over the bridge and posted two officers of his army, one a Turk² and another a Khalji to guard it, when messages came from the King³ of Kamarupa requesting Bakhtyar to desist from the campaign in that year. The king further urged upon

times more than the river Gang (Ganges)'. The Karatoya was once such a big and important river so as to determine the boundary of Varendri while the other boundary was the Ganges. There is evidence that the Karatoya was very wide in front of Bardhankot.

Now the problem is to explain the name Bangmati given to it by Minhaj. It is not impossible that like the Kosi which now joins the Ganges up the Rajmahal and which once flowed into the Brahmaputra (DÜHB, I, 6), the Begmati of Nepal, noticed by Raverty also once flowed in Bengal and joined Karatoya near Bardhankot so as to give its own name to the river at this point. Or, in the alternative, which is more probable, Minhaj may have transferred the name of Barnadi over which there was the stone bridge in Assam to Karatoya in front of Bardhankot. Bardhankot was once a very important city of Bengal and during the early part of the thirteenth century it was under the control of the ruler of North Bengal. Bakhtyar must have reached Bardhankot by crossing the Karatoya by boat.

It may be noticed in this connection that 'Minhaj had little or no knowledge of geography and he has merely repeated' and sometimes confused 'the random gossip and hearsay reports which he picked up at Lakhnauti'. It will be vain to follow him at every step. It is by careful sifting of facts from T.N. and reasonable play of imagination that Bakhtyar's route is to be determined.

The region between the Barnadi in the east and Karatoya on the west was a sort of no man's land inhabited by Koch, Mech, and Bhutia tribes. The kingdom of Kamarupa lay below the Brahmaputra and its capital was at Gauhati (Pragjyotish-pura), and the effective control of the Bengali king did not at this time extend much beyond Bardhankot in the east. That the king of Kamarupa had no effective control over this region is proved from the fact that when Bakhtyar swam across the Barnadi and came to its western bank he was given aid by the Mech people who escorted him safely up to Devkot, and the king of Kamarupa who was then Bakhtyar's enemy could not intercept them.

The king of Kamarupa did not take much notice of Bakhtyar's expedition till he came dangerously too close to his capital at Gauhati. The inscription does not say that Bakhtyar invaded Kamarupa, but it merely says that the 'Turks came into Kamarupa and were destroyed' (IHQ, 1927, 483).

That the expedition was not directed towards the Darjeeling region as held by Blochmann and his followers is proved from later expeditions of the Muslim kings of Lakhnauti which were definitely directed against Kamarupa. We do not know of any expedition of the Khalji or Turkish rulers of Bengal being directed against Darjeeling.

(See K. L. Barua, *History of Kamarupa*; IHQ, 1933, 39ff.)

¹ Dalton noticed a stone bridge in ruins at Silsako (or Silhako) over Barnadi, which joins Brahmaputra near Gauhati (JASB, 1851, 291). It is quite possible that its name corrupted into Bangmati was transferred to Karatoya by Minhaj.

him to come next year better prepared when he too would join the expedition. Bakhtyar disregarded the warning and began to move northward for several days till he reached Kumarikata on the Bhutan border.¹ There was an open space there and the people fought the Khaljis throughout the whole day. The success of the Khalji army was not very decisive and they were able to capture only a few prisoners. These prisoners spoke of a greater number of armed forces that would be coming next day. Bakhtyar's army was already exhausted by the journey through the inaccessible regions, and also by the day's fight. He consulted his lieutenants and a retreat was ordered. On the return journey down the hills and jungles, Bakhtyar and his army were continually harrassed by the native people who had destroyed all supplies on the way. No food for his soldiers nor any fodder for the cattle could be obtained, and the army had to live on horse-flesh. In this condition the retreating army reached the bridge where, to their utter misfortune, they found the bridge deserted by the guards and partly destroyed by the king of Kamarupa so as to make Bakhtyar's retreat impossible. He was attacked by the Kamarupa king and was compelled to take shelter in an adjoining temple. There too he was not allowed any rest as the Kamarupa forces commenced constructing a bamboo pallisade round the temple so as to make Bakhtyar's escape impossible. He saw the danger and dashed out with his whole army and made for the river. The river was fordable up to a certain distance and this tempted the whole army to rush towards it. The torrent, however, drowned most of the soldiers and Bakhtyar with only a handful of followers could with difficulties swim across.² Kinsmen of Ali, who heard the news of the disaster, came to the aid of Bakhtyar and he was escorted to Devkot.³ At the height of his success this sudden disaster became fatal and he became mortally afflicted. The air of Devkot was

¹ Variants—Kar-battan, Kar-pattan or Karar-pattan (Raverty, 567) and Karambatan, Karambeen or Larambeen (Text, 154).

² The date of Bakhtyar's advance and the destruction of his army is given in the inscription as 13th Choitra, 1127 Saka. There are differences of opinion as regards the Christian equivalent of this date, but in any case it was March, 1206 A.D. (P. Bhattacharyya, *बालरूप शासनावली*, 44; *IHQ*, 1927, 843; *ibid.*, 1933, 50).

³ Devkot or Devikot is now in Balurghat Sub-division of Dinajpur district, near the ruined fort of Damadama on the Purnabhaba river. Close to it at Gangarampur was found the earliest Muslim inscription of the reign of Kaikaus Shah. After Bakhtyar's death it became the chief city of Muslim Bengal till Iwaz transferred the capital to Lakhnauti. The ancient name of the Devkot region was Kotivarsha.

(See also Martin, *Eastern India*, II, 660; ASR, XV, 95-100).

widows and orphans of his soldiers who had folly and they began to shower curses on him.

Bakhtyar's death, 1206

The condition of Bakhtyar's illness began to worsen every day and at last he died in 1206 A.D. (602 H). Minhaj states that Bakhtyar was stabbed to death by Ali Mardan Khalji, one of his lieutenants.¹

¹ From the narrative of Minhaj linking the death of Sultan Muhammad Bin Sam and Bakhtyar it seems that the latter died about April or May, 1206 A.D.

1

2

MISCELLANEA

GEOGRAPHY AND POPULATION

The science of geography is primarily concerned with man and his habitat. Man lives and acts everywhere in groups. Human groups do not prosper in isolation. The Chenchus inhabiting the Nallamalai Hills of South India have very little to do with the outside world, and hence their number is restricted to 2,000 only. Here, the nature of the country, impenetrable jungle and broken ground, helped the Chenchus to live their own life for centuries. The Gangetic valley, on the other hand, is swarmed with human beings. Here, the nature of the country is totally different, no longer hills, but vast stretches of plains intersected by wide open rivers.

The first human group in the Gangetic valley set out at once to subjugate the country bit by bit with the help of the favoured animals and plants. When the task was found to be too difficult for one group, another group came forward to assist and coalesced with the first. That was how the population increased in leaps and bounds in the whole of the Gangetic valley. Other valleys of the world like those of the Indus, the Nile, the Hwangho and Yangtse-Kiang, the Tigris and Euphrates became similarly centres of attraction for the early nomads looking for their permanent home.

When the chance came, the early man gave up his nomadic or semi-nomadic life in no time and became deeply rooted to the soil. The nomads of the present day have not yet got their chance of settling on land, though more than a hundred thousand families of nomads have been settled in recent years by the Russian Government in the Karakum and Kizilkum deserts of Russian Turkestan. In some places, however, the concentration of population became so dense, that the land was not capable of providing sufficient nourishment for all. Under similar circumstances a swarm leaves a hive and builds up another one long way off. Man did the same thing, and left their land of birth in groups with a view to continuing the same mode of life in distant land.

The freedom of man to migrate where he likes has been severely curtailed today by immigration laws. The people of densely populated countries like India and China where live two-fifths of the population of the world are not allowed to emigrate to countries with vast open spaces. The people of Europe, another densely

populated region, are, on the other hand, encouraged to emigrate to such lands. But the rate of emigration would naturally be slow, because in the first instance it is individuals that emigrate under artificial stimulus and not the groups as is natural, and secondly, Europe can now ill afford to send their able-bodied citizens across the seas. Hence some parts of the world still contain surplus populations, which could very well emigrate to those countries which are sparsely populated.

TABLE
(showing geographical distribution of populations)¹

Continent or country	Area in sq. miles (000's omitted)	Popula- tion (000's omitted)	Density per sq. mile	Percentage of world's total land surface	Percentage of world popula- tion
Asia (excluding U.S.S.R.) ..	10,378	1,134,500	109	21	53
Europe (excluding U.S.S.R.) ..	2,093	400,100	191	4	18
U.S.S.R. ..	8,176	170,400	21	16	8
North America (in- cluding Mexico) ..	8,352	161,580	19	18	8
South America (in- cluding Carribbean)	7,247	112,530	16	14	5.5
Africa ..	11,710	155,500	13	25	7
Australia (including New Zealand) ..	993	10,670	10	2	0.5

A glance at the Table showing the geographical distribution of populations will indicate that the 'Oikumenēs' contains over 200 crores of human beings. Of these, more than one-half live in Asia which covers only one-fifth of the total land area of the world. Europe and Asia have between them four-fifths of the total population of the world. Africa covers one-fourth of the land surface of

¹ Based on statistics given in Statistical Year-Book, League of Nations, 1940. Population figures are estimates for the year 1938.

the world, that is to say, even larger than Asia in size, but does not have more than two-fifths of the population of India. The New World is slightly smaller than Eurasia, but its population is less than one-sixth of the former, even not as many as there are in India. Oceania is twice as large as India, but its population amounts to one crore only.

Mankind is a product of Asia. Marcellin Boule, an eminent palaeo-geographer, tells us that 'Asia was the laboratory where the differentiation of the ancestor of Mankind must have been in process of elaboration'. The great Central Asiatic plateau was perhaps the centre of dispersal of mankind. It is, therefore, natural that Asia would be the home-land of the majority of the peoples of the world. The monsoon lands of Asia, with their warmth and rainfall, and fertile plains became important centres of human settlement.

Europe is the world's most densely populated continent, the density of population per square mile being about twice as much as in Asia. Since Europe occupies only four per cent of the land surface of the world, the land resources could not be adequate for the vast populations, and hence foods and raw materials have had to be imported into the continent to support the large populations. Europe has, therefore, placed considerable emphasis on industrialization.

Of the countries of Eurasia, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (the U.S.S.R.) has the largest land resources which are now being systematically utilized by the Soviet Government.

The remaining continents are very sparsely populated. In none of them, the density of population per square mile exceeds one-fifth of that in Asia. The land resources of these continents, especially of Africa, South America and Australia, can never be utilized fully until the present immigration laws are repealed with a view to enabling the peoples of tropical and sub-tropical countries like India and China to emigrate freely to those continents.

S. P. CHATTERJEE

CULT OF THE GODDESS ŚAṢṬHĪ OF BENGAL

The name of goddess Śaṣṭhī cannot be found in any ancient Sanskrit Purāṇa or any other Sanskrit religious literature. Some of the later Purāṇas however, such as *Devībhāgavata* and *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*, contain references to, and an account of, her. According to the former Śaṣṭhī is an epithet of Durgā in the form of Kātyāyanī, one of the sixteen divine mothers. In order to set up the aristocracy of goddess Śaṣṭhī in this way, some of the later Purāṇas

have sought to picture her as being identical with Durgā. But just like Manasā and Maṅgal Caṇḍī, Śaṣṭhī is a local popular deity. Śaṣṭhī has found a niche in one or two latter-day Sanskrit Purāṇas exactly in the manner in which Manasā and Maṅgal Caṇḍī have secured a place in the later Purāṇas.

Infant mortality is a chronic ailment in Bengal. It was particularly virulent in ancient society which was steeped in superstition. For this reason, the weak and ignorant society of by-gone times conceived of a goddess as the protectress of infants. How long this goddess Śaṣṭhī was being held in worship in societies other than Aryan even before her entrance into the later Purāṇas cannot be precisely stated, though it may be presumed that a goddess as the protectress of infants was conceived of in societies of the remote past. May be her name was something other than Śaṣṭhī which it is impossible for us to discover today. Among the excavations at Mahenjo-daro and Harappa there are the miniature figures of the Mother-goddess who has been held to have been conceived both as a guardian deity of the house and the protectress of the new-born child as well.¹

There is an identical goddess named Hārītī in Buddhist Tantric literature. But there is some difference in the nature of Hārītī and goddess Śaṣṭhī. Hārītī is the stealer of children, in other words, she is the cause of infant mortality. The well-being of the new-born infant is sought to be secured by means of propitiating her first with votive offerings. In her character it is the malignant aspect that predominates, but goddess Śaṣṭhī is the protectress of babies—the beneficent aspect is the special trait of her character. Hence Buddhist Hārītī and latter-day Purāṇic Śaṣṭhī have sprung from two different traditions. In Bengali society the name of another popular deity similar to the character of Hārītī can be met with. She is Jātāpahāriṇī, that is to say, she abducts or kills new-born babies. It appears that Hārītī of the Buddhist Tantric sect and this popular Jātāpahāriṇī are identical. They have no connection whatsoever with goddess Śaṣṭhī.

In Śaṣṭhī, the popular goddess of Bengal, it is the beneficent aspect that appears to predominate as in the great mother goddess of Mahenjo-daro and Harappa—the malignant aspect is altogether absent from her character. This trait of goddess Śaṣṭhī of all the popular divine characters of Bengal, deserves special notice in this respect.

The practice of the worship of Śaṣṭhī on the sixth day of the birth of a child has been in vogue in Bengal from the hoary past.

¹ E. Mackay, *The Indus Civilization*, 1935, p. 67.

It is found in the *Caitanya Bhāgavata* that after the birth of Caitanya, the worship of Śaṣṭhī was performed according to usual rites in due time.¹ It goes without saying that in Bengali society the worship of Śaṣṭhī on the sixth day of the birth of a child has been actually in practice from long before it. In some places of Bengal there are places believed to be presided over by Śaṣṭhī—these places are known as 'Śaṣṭhītalās'. The mother often goes to these places and performs the worship of Śaṣṭhī there with a view to securing the well-being of the child. Besides there are arrangements for the worship of Śaṣṭhī in household as well. Generally goddess Śaṣṭhī, worshipped in the household, has not got any image. The late N. N. Vasu has published the account of an image of Śaṣṭhī in his *Archaeological Survey of Mayūrbhaṅja*.² But some have suspected it to be the image of Manasā.³ This suspicion seems to be quite legitimate.

Though there are the images of Hārītī in ancient Buddhist sculpture, no image of Śaṣṭhī seems to have been ever engraved. At least none of the ancient images of Hindu deities, that have so far been discovered in Bengal, can be identified as the image of Śaṣṭhī. Be that as it may, this merely proves that the supremacy of goddess Śaṣṭhī was limited to the female community alone. In particular, it is the women-folk that are principally concerned with children. Though, therefore, goddess Śaṣṭhī has received only nominal homage from the male community under the umbrage of only one or two latter-day Purāṇas, yet among the female folk of Bengal her predominance has all along remained intact. As several diverse-natured female deities, born in different ages under different historical conditions, have in course of time been unified into the single name of Caṇḍī, so have a number of distinct female deities who figured themselves as the protectresses of children and were born in different periods and under different circumstances out of the diverse strata of society, been mingled, in process of time, into the sole epithet of Śaṣṭhī. This goddess has been named Śaṣṭhī because of her being the presiding deity over the rites which are performed on the sixth (*ṣaṣṭha*) day of the new-born babe for the sake of securing its well-being; the name Śaṣṭhī can have no other signification. It is this epithet Śaṣṭhī which has subsequently been extended to all the deities who are beneficent to children. This

¹ Vyṇḍāvan Dās, *Caitanya Bhāgavata*, 1, 3 (Vasumatī Ed.).

² N. N. Vasu, *Archaeological Survey of Mayūrbhaṅja*, p. xxxviii, plate 15.

³ N. K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brāhmanic Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, Dacca, 1929, p. 227 f.n.

is why the following twelve distinct kinds of Śaṣṭhī¹ are held in worship during the twelve months of the year, as: Dhūlo Śaṣṭhī in Vaiśākh, Aranya (Jungle) Śaṣṭhī in Jyāiṣṭhā, Koḍā Śaṣṭhī in Āṣādh, Loṭan Śaṣṭhī in Śrāvaṇ, Manthan Śaṣṭhī in Bhādra, Durgā Śaṣṭhī in Āsvina, Goṭ Śaṣṭhī in Kārtik, Mūlā Śaṣṭhī in Agrahāyana, Pātāi Śaṣṭhī in Pauṣ, Sītālā Śaṣṭhī in Māgh, Āśokā Śaṣṭhī in Phālgun and Nīl Śaṣṭhī in Caitra. But in reality none of them is Śaṣṭhī. Only the presiding deity over the natal rites performed on the sixth day of a new-born child is real Śaṣṭhī. In subsequent times she has been called Janma-Śaṣṭhī so as to contradistinguish her from the other Śaṣṭhīs. As already said, it was from this Janma-Śaṣṭhī that the name Śaṣṭhī was derived, and latterly extended also to those other popular goddesses deemed to be beneficent to children. The rites of the worship of Janma-Śaṣṭhī, and the legend connected with her, differ altogether from those of the other Śaṣṭhīs.² But in course of time it was another kind of Śaṣṭhī of an altogether different nature who began to occupy a position superior to that of this Janma-Śaṣṭhī: She is Aranya (Jungle) Śaṣṭhī, also known as Jāmāi Śaṣṭhī. The blessings of this Śaṣṭhī are prayed for so that daughter and son-in-law might be blest with children. In Bengali society the son-in-law has always occupied a privileged position; perhaps it was because of this that rites connected with him gradually received greater recognition and dignity from the populace. One or two short poems were in course of time composed on the story that was current in the legend³ associated with this Aranya Śaṣṭhī or Jāmāi Śaṣṭhī. These are known as Śaṣṭhī Maṅgal. The story is generally as follows:—

It was only the low-class poor people who used to perform the worship of Śaṣṭhī. Finding the wealthy folk indifferent to her worship goddess Śaṣṭhī decided that they must propagate her worship among them.

In Saptagram there was once a king Śatrujit by name. Goddess Śaṣṭhī thought to herself that if this king adopted her worship then it must be established among the rich. Thinking thus, she put on

¹ A. Mazumdar, *Meyeder Vratākathā*, Calcutta, 1344 B.E., p. 39.

² For the detailed rites of observance of the worship and also for the legend connected with Janma Śaṣṭhī, see P. C. Chakravarti, *Vrata O Ācār*, Śānti, Dacca, 1347 B.E., Pauṣ, pp. 351-353.

³ Different *Kathās* or legends are told in glorification of this Jungle Śaṣṭhī in different parts of Bengal. The legend that has been given above is current in Western Bengal. In Eastern Bengal the story is different. (See P. C. Chakravarti, Śānti, *op. cit.*, Śrāvaṇ, 1347 B.E., pp. 150-51). In Rudrarām Chakravarti's *Śaṣṭhī Maṅgal* which is current in Khulna district yet another legend of Śaṣṭhī is available (see *infra*).

the guise of an old Brahmin woman, appeared before the queen, and said to her,

'I have come here from Burdwan to have a bath in the Ganges. Today is the day of Aranya Śaṣṭhī. I shall take you with me and perform the worship of Śaṣṭhī.'

'What is the good of worshipping Śaṣṭhī?' asked the queen. 'You are a queen,' said goddess Śaṣṭhī, 'And you know no sorrow or misery. This is why you know nothing about the glory and greatness of deities. Let me tell you about the glory and greatness of Śaṣṭhī. Attend to it.'

There was a merchant Saybene by name. By the grace of Śaṣṭhī his wife presented him with seven sons. The wife of the merchant always worshipped Śaṣṭhī with her daughters-in-law. One day when arrangements for the worship of the goddess were complete, the mother-in-law left the youngest daughter-in-law in charge of the articles of worship and went out on a piece of business. Now, the youngest daughter-in-law was *enciente*. She could not resist the temptation of eating up the articles of worship. When the mother-in-law came back, she told the lie that a black cat had come along, and eaten them up. Now the black cat is the vehicle of Śaṣṭhī. When the black cat heard the explanation of the youngest daughter-in-law she became very angry with her. Thereafter when in due time youngest daughter-in-law gave birth to a male child, the black cat stole it away from the lying-in-rooms. In due course, the lady gave birth to six sons all of whom were stolen away by the black cat. Then the lady conceived again. In due time the lady went into the thick of a forest and gave birth to a son. Taking the new-born babe in her lap she sat all watchful, but in a short while she was locked in the embrace of sleep. In the mean time the black cat fled away with the child. The lady suddenly woke up and saw that the black cat was fleeing away with the baby in her mouth. The lady ran after her, but before she went far, she stumbled, and dropped down.

The black cat on her own part presented herself before goddess Śaṣṭhī with the baby in her mouth. The goddess took the black cat severely to task for this cruel treatment meted out by her to the youngest daughter-in-law. Then she went to where the youngest daughter-in-law lay prostrate on the dust-laden ground. The goddess rebuked her gently for her apathy towards her, and for eating up the articles of worship meant for her, but finally she forgave her all her faults and restored her all the seven children she had given birth to. Getting back home with her seven sons, the youngest daughter-in-law performed the worship of Śaṣṭhī with great pomp and eclat.

The queen of Śatrujit heard this story of the glory and greatness of goddess Śaṣṭhī and she too held the worship of the goddess. It was thus that her worship was introduced into a royal family.

The first poet to write a poem on this theme was Kṛṣṇarām Dās. It is this Kṛṣṇarām who is the poet of *Kālikā Maṅgal* and *Rāy Maṅgal*. Kṛṣṇarām Dās composed his *Śaṣṭhī Maṅgal*¹ in 1601 of the Śaka Era or 1679 A.D. As to the date of the composition of his work he says:—

Poet Kṛṣṇarām writes this *Śaṣṭhī Maṅgal* in the Śaka Era represented by the (one) earth, the cipher, the (six) seasons and the (one) moon.

In this poem there is a description of Saptagram the memory of whose ancient grandeur and prosperity is not yet wiped out.

No manuscript of Kṛṣṇarām's work has been found in a complete form. Both the manuscripts discovered up-to-date are incomplete. It is the current legend about Śaṣṭhī that Kṛṣṇarām has woven into a poem. As a work of art it is almost negligible.

Next must be mentioned the *Śaṣṭhī Maṅgal*² of Rudrarām Cakravartī. The name of the poet's father was Gaṅgārām. Vidyābhūṣaṇ was the title of Rudrarām. From the account of the origin of the book it can be known that when the poet's daughter was once attacked with a serious illness, goddess Śaṣṭhī commanded him in a dream to compose a poem in glorification of her. In deference to that command, the poet composed this poem split up into thirteen *pālās*, in consequence of which his daughter was completely cured. Nothing can be known about Rudrarām's times or the date of the composition of his work. The theme of Rudrarām is not the legend of Aranya Śaṣṭhī narrated before. It is overlaid with various Purāṇic stories. It consists of three episodes: the first one is the Purāṇic anecdote about Kārtikeya, the second one deals with the incident of Kṣetramiśra's obtaining a son through a boon of Śaṣṭhī, and the recovery of his kingdom by his help, and the third one describes the popular story of Kalāvati. None of the stories found in the *Śaṣṭhī Maṅgal* and the legends of Śaṣṭhī in Bengal are in agreement with the anecdotes described by Rudrarām.

Rudrarām may have flourished in the eighteenth century. His diction is chaste and scholarly, but it is generally lacking in poetry.

¹ Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, MS. No. 5674.

² A modernized and incomplete edition of this work has been published by Asutosh Datta, Calcutta, 1339 B.E.

Besides
Guṇarāj are
of them.

igal, one by Kavicandra and another by
been found.¹ But nothing can be known

ASUTOSH BHATTACHARYYA.

A NOTE ON 'MĀGANDIYA'

Sanskrit, Pāli and Prākṛit literature supplies us with an invaluable material for reconstructing the history of ancient India and her civilization. But an intensive study will show that there are many words, expressions, or passages which still require careful consideration. This note deals with the Pāli word *Māgandīya* which represents the name of a brahmin who was a resident of the market-town of Kammāsadamma in the Kuru country (Kurūsu Kammāsadammanigamavāsī).²

Māgandīya is equivalent to Skt. *Mākandika* = *Mākanda* + *ika*, or *Mākandī* + *ka*. The change of *k* to *g*, i.e. the softening of an intervocalic surd is a feature of Pāli, which is to be attributed to the influence of dialects like *Māgadhi*, *Śaurasenī* and *Apabhraṃśa*. Now, *Māgandīya* (var. *Māgandika*) = *Māgandī* + *iya* or *ika*. We know that the *Taddhita* suffixes *iya* and *ika* are added to nouns to mean 'one born in, or belonging to, or living in a certain place': e.g., one of, or born in, or living in *Sāvattthī* or *Magadha*, is *Sāvattthiya* and *Sāvattthika*, or *Māgadhiya* and *Māgadhika* respectively. So, *Māgandīya* or *Māgandika* will mean 'one born in, living in, or belonging to *Māgandī*'. The Pāli commentators offer a fanciful derivation of the word *Mākandī* when they say that *Kākandī* was so called because it had been the residence of the sage *Kākanda*, and that the grammarians and versifiers took *Kākandī* as *Mākandī*: (*Sāvattthiyan ti evaṃ nāmake nagare, taṃ kira Savatthassa nāma isino nivāsanaṭṭhānam ahoṣi, tasmā, yathā Kusambassa nivāso Kosambi Kākandassa Kākandī, evaṃ itthilingavasena Sāvattthī ti vuccati*).³ *Savatthassa nāma isino nivāsanaṭṭhāne māpitattā Sāvattthī ti vuccati, yathā Kākandī Mākandī ti. Evaṃ tāva akkharacintakā*.⁴ From the *Anekārthasaṃgraha* of Hemacandra,⁵ the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, the *Medinīkośa* and the *Mahābhārata*⁶ we learn that *Mākandī*

¹ Viśvakoṣa, i8, p. 75.

² *Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā*, PTS edn., Vol. II, pp. 542-43.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 300.

⁴ *Uddāna-aṭṭhakathā*, PTS edn., p. 55.

⁵ Böhtlingk and Roth: *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, Vol. V, p. 690.

⁶ *Variants*: *Mākamda*, *Mākamdi*, *Māsamdi*, *Avamti*, *Āsamdi*, *Vāsamti*, *Vāvamti*.

was the name of a place on the Gaṅgā, while in the *Kathāsarit-sāgara*¹ of Somadevabhaṭṭa Mākandikā (= Mākandī) is described as a city on the Jāhnavī (asti Mākandikā nāma nagarī Jāhnavitaṭe).

From the Drupadaśāsana section of the Ādiparva, *Mahābhārata*,² we learn that seeing Drupada, king of Pāñcāla, brought under his control, humiliated and deprived of wealth, Droṇa bestowed upon him, as a token of sympathy and friendship, the entire Pāñcāla territory lying on the southern bank of the Bhāgīrathī, while he himself took the other half of the kingdom which stood on the northern side of that river. 'Thenceforth, Drupada began to reside sorrowfully in (the city of) Kāmpilya (within the province of) *Mākandī* on the banks of the Gaṅgā filled with many towns and cities. And after this defeat of Droṇa, Drupada also ruled the southern Pāñcāla up to the bank of the Carmaṇvatī'³ (= Chambal):

(Evaṃ uktaḥ sa taṃ Droṇo mokṣayāmāsa Bhārata
satkṛtya caīnaṃ prītātmā rājyārdham pratyapādayat |
Mākandīm atha Gaṅgāyāstīre janapadayutām
so 'dhyāvasad dīnamanāḥ Kāmpilyaṅca purottamam |
Dakṣiṇāṃ ścāpi Pāñcālān yāvac Carmaṇvatī nadi
Droṇena caīvaṃ Drupadaḥ paribhūyātha pālitaḥ |'³

From these verses it is evident that in those days, *Mākandī* (which has not yet been identified) formed a part of the Pāñcāla country and that it held an important position in the locality and was quite extensive in area (janapadayutām).

Again, in the Udyogaparva of the *Mahābhārata* we see that Yudhiṣṭhira, wishing for peace amongst the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas, sent a private message to Duryodhana through Sañjaya requesting him (Duryodhana) to give them, i.e. the Pāṇḍavas, some share of the kingdom:

'Śāntirevaṃ bhaved rājan ! prītīścaīva parasparam
rājyaikadeśamāpi naḥ prayaccha śamam icchatām |
Kuśasthalaṃ Vṛkasthalaṃ *Mākandīm* Vāraṇāvatam
avasānaṃ bhaved atra kañcid ekañca pañcamam |
Bhrātrṇāṃ dehī pañcānāṃ pañcagrāmān suyodhana
śāntir no 'stu mahāprājña ! jñātibhiḥ saha Sañjaya !

('Peace then, O king, will be amongst our gladdened selves. We are desirous of peace. Give us even a single province of the empire.

¹ Ed. by Durgāprasād and Parab, 3rd edn., Lāvāṇakalambakāḥ, Prathamastaraṅga, śl. 30, p. 49.

² Roy, P. C.: *The Mahābhārata*, New edn., Vol. I, p. 288.

³ Siddhāntavāgīśa, H.: *Mahābhārata*, Ādiparva, pp. 1471-72.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Sañjayayāna, Udyogaparva, pp. 228-29.

Give us even Kuśasthala, Vṛkasthala, *Mākandī*, Vāraṇāvata, and for the fifth any other that thou likest! Even that will end the quarrel! O śuyodhana! give unto thy five brothers at least five villages!'¹)

Again, in the Bhagavadyāna section of the Udyogaparva, we see Yudhiṣṭhira relating to Kṛṣṇa how his request for only five villages had been refused by Duryodhana:

‘Kāśibhiś-Ceḍi-Pāñcālair-Matsyaiśca Madhusūdana !
bhavatā caiva nāthena pañca grāmā vṛtā mayā ||
Avisthalaṃ Vṛkasthalaṃ *Mākandīm* Vāraṇāvataṃ
avasānañca Govinda ! kañcid evātra pañcamam ||
Pañca nastāta ! dīyantāṃ grāmā vā nagarāṇi vā
vasema sahītā yeṣu mā ca no Bharata nāśanam ||’²

(‘Having the Kāśis, the Pāñcālas, the Cedis, the Matsyas, for my allies, and with thee, O slayer of Madhu, for my protector, I prayed for only five villages, viz., Avisthala, Vṛkasthala, *Mākandī*, Vāraṇāvata, with any other, O Govinda, as the fifth! Grant us, we said, five villages or towns, O Sire, where we five may dwell in union (with you, i.e. the Kauravas) for we do not desire the destruction of the Bharatas!’)³

Again, in the Draupadī-Kṛṣṇa-vākya chapter of the Bhagavadyāna section of the Udyogaparva we hear Draupadī speaking to Kṛṣṇa the words with which Yudhiṣṭhira made the appeal for five villages:

‘Pañca nastāta ! dīyantāṃ grāmā iti mahādyute !
Avisthalaṃ Vṛkasthalaṃ *Mākandīm* Vāraṇāvataṃ ||
Avasānaṃ mahābāho ! kañcid ekañca pañcamam |’⁴

From the verses quoted above it is evident that *Mākandī* was one of the five villages which were claimed by Yudhiṣṭhira for the share of the Pāṇḍavas. Thus, at that time, *Mākandī* formed a part of Duryodhana’s territory. Otherwise, why should Yudhiṣṭhira ask for a place which was included within the kingdom of Drupada, his ally? And as we have already seen, *Mākandī* formed a part of the Pāñcāla country. So there arises some discrepancy. This, of course, can be got over if we hold that either there were more than one *Mākandī*, or that the boundary line of these two mahājanapadas, viz. Kuru and Pāñcāla, was not of an unalterable nature,

¹ Roy, P. C.: *The Mahābhārata*, New edn., Vol. III, p. 197.

² Siddhāntavāgīśa, H.: *Mahābhāratam*, Bhagavadyāna, Udyogaparva, p. 694.

³ Roy, P. C.: *The Mahābhārata*, New edn., Vol. III, p. 307.

⁴ Siddhāntavāgīśa, H.: *Mahābhāratam*, Bhagavadyāna, Udyogaparva, p. 760.

so that Mākandī may have sometimes formed a part of the Pāñcāla country and sometimes of the Kuru kingdom.

Now, from the Pāli account we get that Māgandīya was only a resident of the market town of Kammāsadamma in the Kuru country (. . . . Kurūsu Kammāsadammanigamavāsino Māgandiyassa nāma brāhmaṇassa . . .¹). And our conclusion is that, although our thera was Kammāsadammanivāsi, he was known as *Māgandīya* because he hailed from *Māgandī*, i.e. *Mākandī*. He must have got another name, his personal name or *mūlanāma*, which unfortunately, has not come down to us. It will be interesting to note in this connection that the custom of calling a man after the name of the country to which he belonged was quite common in those days as is evident from the names like, Hatthaka Ālavaka (Hatthaka of Ālavī), Citta Makkhikāsaṇḍika (Citta of Makkhikāsaṇḍa), Pokkharasādi Subhagavanika (Pokkharasādi of Subhagavana), etc. Thus, Māgandīya and his family had been named after Māgandī or Mākandī which was their land of birth. Further, that they had other names is evident from the account in the *Divyāvadāna*² where the brahmin (there a parivrājaka) is called Mākandika, his wife (whose name is not given in the Pāli account) Sākali and the daughter (Māgandīyā of Pāli) Anupamā.

DEVAPRASAD GUHA.

BIHAR STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA

This inscription was edited by Dr. Fleet (*CII.*, III, 49). It is engraved on a broken red sandstone column and much of it is now illegible. Although from the damaged state of the inscription it is difficult to understand even the purport of the first part, the genealogy contained in the second part is of great interest. It appears, however, on a careful reading of the text, that this part does not belong to the reign of Skandagupta, as has been supposed by Dr. Fleet and others, but to a later reign. Anybody who carefully compares the reading with the facsimile published in Fleet's book would find that while it is reasonable to restore the reading of line 22 as suggested by Fleet on account of the name Dhruvadevī contained in line 21, there is a great deal of doubt about the restoration proposed by Fleet in line 23. The first three letters in this line

¹ *Suttaṇipāta-aṭṭhakathā*, PTS edn., Vol. II, pp. 542-43.

² *Divyāvadāna*, Cowell and Neil, pp. 515ff.

have been read by Dr. Fleet as *ndaguptah*, and naturally he has supplied the last missing letter as *Ska*; but the facsimile clearly shows that the first letter cannot be read as *nda*. This will be evident from a comparison with the first letter in line 11 which is undoubtedly *nda* (or *ndra*). The loop of *na* is very clear in this case, but the loop is absent in the first letter in line 23, which reads more like *ru* than anything else. In the previous letter also the *ū*-ending seems to be clear and the most reasonable reading appears to be *Pūru*.

This conclusion is rendered almost certain by a study of the plate published by Dr. R. L. Mitra along with his reading of the record in *JASB.*, XXXV, Part I, p. 270. For it not only shows that the letter in question was clearly *ru*, but also reproduces the preceding letter which can be easily read as *Pū*. Dr. Mitra read the four letters as *piarugupta*, but there can be hardly any reasonable doubt that the name was written as *Pūrugupta*. This is very important because hitherto the name of *Pūrugupta* has only been found in royal seals but not in any inscription.

Dr. Fleet's restoration of line 23 is also faulty in another respect. According to the restoration proposed by him there is no mention of the name of the queen-mother as we find in the cases of the previous kings. But it is evident that the name was there. For the number of letters in lines 17 to 22, where we can check them by the conventional genealogical phraseology, were respectively 27, 31, 26, 25, 26, and 33, whereas line 23, as restored by Dr. Fleet, contains only nineteen letters. The line should therefore be restored as follows:—

[*Mahādevyām = Anantadevyām = utpannah parama-bhāgavato*
Mahārājādhirāja-Srī-] *Pūruguptah*.

In line 24 the last seven letters are '*Parama-bhāgavato*'. It is obvious that about 20 to 25 letters are missing at the beginning, and this is just what we should expect if the genealogy were continued. In other words, the missing portion may be restored *some-what* as follows:—

Tasya putras = tat-pād-ānudhyāto Mahādevyām Chandradevyām-
utpannah.

This contains 21 letters and thus the total number of letters in the line would be 28. Even admitting that the reference might not have been to a son of *Pūrugupta*, there cannot be any doubt that the genealogy was continued beyond line 23, and that the king whose name is missing in line 25 cannot be the same as that mentioned in line 23.

It is strange that this point has been completely lost sight of by Dr. Fleet and others. Dr. Fleet has restored the name

of the missing king in line 25 also as Skandagupta but has not cared to explain why in a conventional genealogy the name should be repeated twice. It might be contended that the genealogy ended with line 23 and Skandagupta was mentioned in line 25 as having issued the command, etc. But, apart from what has been said above, the word *Paramabhāgavata* occurring in this name shows that it was a part of the genealogy, for it would have been extremely unusual if this qualifying epithet were again repeated before the same king mentioned in connection with issuing orders.

It would thus appear that even if we read Skandagupta in line 23 we must hold that the record was issued by another king, presumably his successor. As a matter of fact, however, it would appear from what has been said above that line 23 most probably contained the name of Pūrugupta and that the record was evidently issued by his successor.

Fleet concluded from the mention of the village *Skandaguptabāṭa* in Part I that that also belonged to the time of Skandagupta. But here, too, Fleet's restoration of the village-name is doubtful. As noted above, the first letter that can be definitely read in line II seems to be 'ndra' and not 'nda', and the name, therefore, may be restored as *Chandraguptabāṭa*, *Indraguptabāṭa*, etc.

The proper assignment of the inscription is of considerable importance because we do not know who was his immediate successor. This vexed question would probably have been definitely solved if we could restore the missing name of the king in line 25.

In this connection I would like to make one suggestion. The presence of the name Bhadrār̥yā in both the parts of the inscription seems to indicate that they were contemporary records. Now, the first part of the inscription contains the name of Kumāragupta. It is very likely, therefore, that the genealogy in the second part also ended with him. As we know, one king Kumāragupta flourished in G.E. 154 (= 473-4 A.D.). It is also well known now that Budhagupta who reigned in G.E. 157 (= 476-7 A.D.) was a son of Pūrugupta. It is not impossible, therefore, that Kumāragupta of the year 154 might be the son and successor of Pūrugupta and was the author of the Bihar Stone Pillar Inscription. This is, of course, a mere suggestion, as in view of the uncertainty of the chronology of the later Gupta Emperors, no definite opinion can be hazarded on this point.

This, no doubt, goes against the chronological view which was propounded by me¹ (and also independently by Mr. Pannalal²) more than a quarter of a century ago, and is now generally accepted.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, 1918, pp. 161-7.

² *Hindusthan Review*, January, 1918.

But the royal seals discovered at Nālandā seem to have considerably weakened the foundations on which this chronological view rests. These seals prove that Budhagupta was a son of Pūrugupta and that Kumāragupta II had a son named Viṣṇugupta. Therefore, in the first place, it would now be more reasonable to place Budhagupta before his nephew Kumāragupta II, rather than after him. Even if we hold that Budhagupta ruled later, it would be necessary, according to the present chronological view, to put not only the reigns of Pūrugupta, Narasimhagupta and Kumāragupta II, but also that of Viṣṇugupta, during the ten years between 467 and 477 A.D. Even if we assume that Budhagupta succeeded Kumāragupta II, and that Viṣṇugupta later succeeded his grand-uncle, there still remains one strong objection to the above chronology. For according to it Viṣṇugupta must have been born before 477 A.D., the latest possible date of his father's death. In other words, we have to assume that the great-great-grandson of Kumāragupta I was born within less than twenty-two years of his death. This is, of course, possible if we assume that Kumāragupta I died at the advanced age of seventy or later, and that his descendants had all a son at the age of twenty-three or earlier. But in dealing with unknown periods of history we should be guided by probabilities rather than remote possibilities. This is the reason why one may be justified in believing that Kumāragupta of G.É. 154 was a different person from the son of Narasimhagupta. The interpretation of the Bihar Stone Pillar Inscription, proposed above, cannot, therefore, be lightly dismissed simply because it does not fit in with the chronological scheme generally accepted at present. On the other hand, it makes it very likely that Pūrugupta was followed on the throne by his three sons, Kumāragupta II, Budhagupta, and Narasimhagupta, and the last-named one was succeeded by his son Kumāragupta III and the latter by his son Viṣṇugupta. This scheme, though not free from difficulties, appears to be a reasonable one, and I propose to discuss the whole question in a separate paper.

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

REVIEWS

A HISTORY OF GINGEE AND ITS RULERS, by Rao Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachariar, with a Foreword by Dr. Sir C. R. Reddi. Annamalai University Historical Series No. 2 (1943).

Among the neglected chapters of South Indian history are those on the Nayak rulers of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee. These have had a glorious rule and they played a worthy part in the history of South India. Though the history of the Nayaks of Madura was worked out twenty years before, the history of other Nayaks has been coming out recently, thanks to the Annamalai University and its distinguished Professor of History. In the volume under review Rao Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachariar gives us not only an account of the Nayaks of Gingee but also a complete history of Gingee from its very origin down to its occupation by the British. It is a good connected account of Gingee so far published, covering ten chapters of 533 pages. It may be mentioned in passing that the French version of the professor's account of Gingee was published in 1940.

In the first chapter we have a description of Gingee fort and its origin. Three hills, Rajagiri, Krishnagiri and Chandrayan-drug, in the form of a triangle, well fortified and connected with one another by a stone rampart sixty feet in thickness, constitute Gingee fortifications. There is a temple dedicated to Kamalakanni Amman perhaps identical with Senjiamman and it is probable that the place took its name after the goddess Senji. The early history of Gingee is, like that of several places, enshrouded in mystery. The painstaking researches of the learned author have led to fruitful result. From an account of *Karnataka Rajakhal Savistara Charitam* written by one Narayanan and found among the famous Mackenzie manuscripts, Professor Srinivasachariar has been able to furnish a connected account of the early history. A number of petty dynasties seems to have ruled from this place. One such was a dynasty of Kons who were by caste shepherds. The activities of Ananda Kon are given in some detail, and these rulers were evidently responsible for the first fortifications. A plausible theory may be that these Kons belonged to the great Yadava community who are said to have spread to South India after the demise of Krishna.

This dynasty was superseded by one Kobilingan who belonged to the community of the Kurumbas, a prehistoric tribe of South India whose descendants are still found in some parts of Coorg, Mysore and Nilgiris. He seems to have been a powerful chieftain. He is credited with the building of a brick fort at Sendamangalam in Tirukoilur taluk. This was the place which became the headquarters of a powerful Chola feudatory by name Kopperunjinga. How long Gingee was under the possession of the Kurumbar, it is not easy to say. But it was a part of the Chola kingdom in the medieval period. We have the testimony of epigraphs in its neighbourhood to point out that it continued to be a part of the Cholas of the Vijayala dynasty. With the disruption of the Chola empire in the thirteenth century and the consequent increasing turbulence it is believed that Gingee might have been strengthened in its fortifications.

If we believe in the veracity of the chronicle, after Fasli 800, Narasinga Udayar became the Viceroy of Gingee. It was acquired by conquest. Narasinga Udayar held it as a fief paying tribute to the headquarters. This is the beginning of the Nayak rule at Gingee. And this is the subject-matter of Chapter III in the book. A regular Viceroyalty was perhaps established only from 1464 A.D. when Venkata-

pati Nayak became the ruler of Gingee. The most distinguished of this line of rulers was Tubaki Krishnappa who became the Nayak of Gingee some time after 1520-21. The big granaries in the Gingee fort, the Kalyana Mahal and the thick walls enclosing the three hills of Gingee are credited to this king. He was succeeded by other Nayaks like Achyuta Ramachandra and Venkatappa Nayaka. It may be said without any fear of contradiction that the Nayaks continued to strengthen the fortifications and were responsible for the growth of the town as an important centre of activity. Among other sources for this period, the records of Father Pimenta are fairly reliable. We have again records which give a description of the relations of the Nayaks with the Portuguese and the Dutch. We have more details about Krishnappa Nayaka who was a Vaishnava by religious persuasion. It was he who played an unfortunate part in the civil war of Vijayanagar (1614-17), dealt in Chapter IV of the book.

His successors were weak and insignificant. Advantage was taken of by the Muhammadan powers of Golconda and Bijapur who occupied Gingee about 1660 A.D. Added to this was the short-sighted policy pursued by Tirumala Nayak of Madura. The Bijapuri authorities renamed Gingee as Badshabad and appointed a number of fief-holders in the neighbourhood on a military tenure. But Gingee fell in the hands of the famous Maratha leader Sivaji in 1677 in the course of his Carnatic expedition. The Marathas continued to strengthen its fortifications. But before he could consolidate the newly acquired territories, Sivaji died and his successor Sambaji mismanaged the whole thing. This precipitated a conflict with the Mughals, who captured it finally in 1698. From 1700 to 1714 Sarup Singh and the reputed Raja Desing were in charge as the representatives of the Mughal Government. While the English records speak of Sarup Singh as a potent prince, the ten months of rule by Raja Desing have won for him undying name in the Tamil country. Even today the name of Raja Desing is cherished in the Tamil land. With the removal of the headquarters of the Mughal subah to Arcot the political importance of Gingee was thrown to the shade. It became again the centre of military operations in the epoch of the Carnatic wars; and furnished an advantage to its possessors on the seesaw of changing power. It was near the scene of Nasir Jang's assassination and the neighbourhood of the point of climax of Dupleix's luck. The various problems connected with these are discussed exhaustively by the author. It was under French occupation from 1760 to 1761 and then it passed on to the hands of the English. All these are dealt with in the last chapter of the book.

By this publication, the Rao Bahadur has certainly placed the historians of India and particularly the historians of South India under a deep debt of gratitude. He has covered a vast period of untrodden field with conspicuous success.

V. R. R. DIKSEITAR.

UJJAYINI IN ANCIENT INDIA by Dr. Bimala Churn Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D.Litt., F.R.A.S.B. Published by the Archaeological Department, Gwalior Govt., 1944, pp. 1-36 with 8 plates and an Index.

This treatise has been very appropriately published by the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior Government, one of whose chief cities is still Ujjain. The monograph is a valuable addition to the numerous works with which Dr. Law has already enriched to such a large extent Indian historical literature. It bears all the marks of painstaking research, based on all available original sources, associated with Dr. Law's writings. The present work naturally draws mainly upon literary sources embedded in Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit texts, supplemented by the evidence.

of coins and inscriptions and the information supplied by the Chinese travellers. The work is divided into six sections, viz. (1) Name and Location; (2) Evidence of Yuan Chwang and the *Periplus*; (3) Political History; (4) Ujjayini on Ancient Coins; (5) As centre of Learning, and (6) Religious History. These thus exhaust the entire history of this ancient place and deal with all its aspects. The first section is an important contribution to the geography of ancient India which already owes so much to Dr. Law's researches. The second section is interesting for the light it throws upon the reign of the important king Pradyota associated with the Vatsa king Udayana. It also gives many interesting details regarding Ujjayini under Asoka and also under the Śatakarni kings, and Rudradāman I. It also throws valuable light on the vexed problem of the traditional Vikrama Era and king Vikramāditya. Lastly, this section deals appropriately with the history of the important tribe of the Mālavas. Sections 5 and 6 elicit valuable information regarding the general culture-history of India. On the whole, the present monograph shows what an important place an intensive study of local history and specialized work in a limited field can take in building up the general history of India in all its aspects, political, economic or cultural.

RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJEE.

THE NAYAKS OF TANJORE by V. Vriddhagirisān, M.A., M.Litt., L.T., edited with Introduction and Notes by Rao Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari. Published by the Annamalai University.

One of the most fascinating periods in the history of South India is covered by the rule of the Nayaks of Tanjore and comprises roughly about one hundred and fifty years from the second quarter of the sixteenth century to the third quarter of the seventeenth century, when the Tamil country was ruled by Telugu rulers who represented the imperial house of Vijayanagar. The Nayak rule at Tanjore passed through the vicissitudes of fortune through which Vijayanagar herself passed. A critical study of this rule has not so far received sufficient attention at the hands of scholars. The work under review fills a long standing gap in the historical dynasties of the Tamil country.

Mr. Vriddhagirisān first discusses the circumstances and date of the foundation of the Nayakship of Tanjore. In the next two chapters he deals with the reign of Sevappa Nāyaka (1532-1580) and describes in detail the wide tolerance and extensive patronage of all religions under this chief. The fourth chapter is devoted to giving an account of the reign of Acyutappa Nāyaka, who was loyal to the imperial house of Vijayanagar. The most illustrious ruler of the dynasty was Raghunatha Nāyaka who made Tanjore a great centre of radiating culture. He was a great soldier and a distinguished statesman. His reign saw the advent of the Danes, Dutch and the English into the Tanjore region. He encouraged arts and letters himself being a good scholar and an authority on Carnatic music. Literary men of eminence adorned his court. Among them were the celebrated Govinda Dikshitar, the scholar-statesman, Venkatamakhi and Ramabhadrambā.

The author proceeds to give an account of Vijayaraghava Nāyaka, the son and successor of Raghunatha. He had a religious bent of mind and was of pious disposition. But he was a weak and vacillating ruler and consequently his kingdom suffered. His relations with the Nāyāk of Madura cost his life. Venkaji, the half-brother of Sivaji gradually got possession of the Tanjore territory. These and other accounts are well portrayed by the young author in an interesting and attractive manner. In conclusion there is a general account of some features of the Nāyāk

rule, political, economic and social. Unlike under the Nayaks of Madura, the Pāḷayam system was absent in Tanjore. In the absence of feudal levies, the Tanjore Nayaks were obliged to maintain a large standing army. They paid particular attention to tanks and other irrigation works. Fine arts received a considerable encouragement at their hands. Thus 'the rule of a Telugu dynasty over a Tamil kingdom with such cultural and other benefits to the land is indeed a most striking and creditable feature in the history of South India and forms a most pleasing epoch of vigorous and continuous cultural growth'.

We welcome this informative publication.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

OBITUARY

SIR D. B. JAYATILAKA

It is most regrettable that we have to record the death-news of Sir D. B. Jayatilaka. He was a great man, a great scholar, a great administrator, and a great patriot. He was well versed in Pali and Sinhalese literature. Those who came in contact with him knew him to be a sincere worker and a thoroughly honest and God-fearing man. Simplicity and sincerity were the two main traits of his character which made him so great. It goes without saying that India and Ceylon have lost in him a true friend possessed of extraordinary qualities. It will be difficult to fill up the void created by his death. Let us pray for the peace of the departed soul.

B. C. LAW.

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EDITORS' NOTES

The Tourist Traffic in connection with Post-war Reconstruction in India

In connection with the many problems which arise with reference to post-war reconstruction, some serious thought may well be given to the important question of providing increased facilities for tourists in India. The tourist traffic is a potential source of great profit to the country. Before the war a considerable proportion of the national income was derived from tourist traffic in such countries as France, Switzerland, Italy and even Germany. In India, on the other hand, very little has been done to provide reasonable facilities to persons, either residents in this country or who are visitors from elsewhere, who desire to see its ancient cities or to study its artistic and architectural treasures.

Many of the most interesting places in India are almost inaccessible to the ordinary visitor unless he has the good fortune to obtain introductions to influential Government officials or to highly placed authorities in the Indian States. There are few hotels except in the big cities; dak-bungalows are usually dirty; and at many places of great interest, even if the visitor is able to find a rest-house with some vacant accommodation, he will be in a position of considerable difficulty unless he has taken with him his own provisions and camp equipment. The ordinary traveller can hardly expect to be able to visit most of the famous cave temples of Western India, the interesting group of ancient Hindu buildings at Aihole, Badami and Pattadakal, the beautiful old cities of the Deccan, such as Gulbarga, Bidar and Bijapur, the ruins at Vijayanagar, Gaur and Pandua (the ancient capitals of Bengal), the temples at Khajuraho, most of the historic Buddhistic sites in Bihar, Nepal and North-west India and few indeed of the romantic cities of Rajputana. Hundreds of the most fascinating places in India are completely inaccessible to the intellectual tourist.

A possible solution of this important problem would be the creation of a special 'Travellers' Department by the Government of India with Bureaux in such places as Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and Lahore.

The main functions of the 'Travellers' Department would be:—

(1) The development of the tourist traffic in India as a national asset. For this purpose close co-operation would be necessary with

the Indian States, and with the Railway, Education and Archaeological Departments of the Government of India.

(2) Suitable propaganda both in India and in foreign countries.

(3) The provision of adequate facilities for travellers who desire to visit the architectural, artistic and cultural monuments of India. This would include:—

- (i) The construction of roads when they are required for the purpose of making such monuments accessible.
- (ii) The establishment of hotels and adequately equipped travellers' bungalows whenever they may be required.
- (iii) The appointment of a staff of curators and lecturer-guides at suitable places.
- (iv) The provision of adequate rail, river and road transport for tourists especially during the cold weather months.

(4) The provision of good literature for the intellectual tourist. So far, in spite of India's great wealth in archaeological remains and historic monuments very little has been done in this respect. The Archaeological Department has published a few guide books; there is some handy travellers' literature available for places like Delhi and Agra and some of the Railways have brought out some pamphlets. Usually, however, the ordinary traveller in India, who desires information about the places which he intends to visit, has to consult standard historical works, gazetteers, learned publications relating to special subjects or such documents as Reports or Memoirs of the Archaeological Department, which are not easily available. India has yet to produce good literature for the intellectual tourist on the lines of the admirable 'Highways and Byeways' series for the English countries or H. V. Morton's 'In Search of England' or 'In Search of Scotland'. If the Travellers' Department could arrange for the publication of a series of good books of this nature it would render a great service to world culture.

The functions of the Bureaux would be:—

- (1) To give travellers all possible assistance and advice with regard to tours in India.
- (2) To provide them, if required, with camp equipment and with properly qualified guides and servants.
- (3) In suitable cases to provide them with letters of introduction to officials, universities, and learned societies.
- (4) To arrange for their transport and accommodation, especially in connection with tours to places which are 'off the beaten track'.
- (5) To provide them with such literature as may be available with regard to the places they propose to visit.

So far, I have dealt with this matter mainly from the point of view of the ordinary educated tourist who wishes to travel in India for the purpose of improving his general culture or merely for a holiday. It would, however, also be for the 'Travellers' Department to assist those who come to India for business or in the interest of learning and science. This would involve the department in many delicate contacts which I do not propose to discuss and I will only deal very briefly with one aspect of the problem.

Many learned people visit this country, who are deeply interested in India's history and archaeology. In the case of such persons it should be possible for the 'Travellers' Department to facilitate their researches in connection with examination of historical records in the custody of Government or learned societies or by putting them in touch with leading Indian scholars or with the representatives of the Archaeological Department of the Government of India.

As regards the Archaeological Department, I think that it is not sufficiently realized that the reputation of India in the world of learning depends in no small degree on the standard of its archaeological publications and on the efficiency with which the Archaeological Department is administered. I may be wrong, but the impression which I have received after many visits to ancient sites all over India is that the Archaeological Department is being financially starved and is functioning under very great difficulties. Insufficient funds seem to be provided for exploration and excavation, and even for the maintenance of the great national monuments. Great publications such as those of Sir John Marshall and Sir Aurel Stein seem to be things of the past. There can, however, be no doubt that, as the custodian of a very important portion of the great national heritage, the Archaeological Department should not be regarded as a sort of step-daughter but it should be recognized as a very vital part of the great machine on which the prestige of India depends in the eyes of the world. If a 'Travellers' Department is to be established it would have to rely in no small measure upon the advice and assistance of the Archaeological Department which, under existing conditions, seems to be inadequately staffed and financially handicapped.

Some of the Indian States have their own Archaeological Departments, e.g. Hyderabad, Mysore, Gwalior, Jodhpur, Baroda, Kashmir and Bhopal. It seems to me that those States in which such departments have not been established should be persuaded to combine for this purpose in order to ensure the scientific preservation of their ancient buildings and scholarly research in connection with their past history.

Possibly some of the States might wish to maintain their own Travellers' Departments. I believe such a department has been established in Kashmir. But the balance of advantage would appear to be in favour of constituting this department on an all-India basis with the greatest possible measure of co-operation from the States.

N: G. A. EDGLEY.

No. 1216-TT.

Dated, New Delhi, the $\frac{17th}{18th}$ Nov., 1943.

MY DEAR EDGLEY,

Many thanks for your letter of the 11th, which you wrote after a discussion with Sir Jogendra Singh, and for the very interesting note you enclosed with your letter.

2. Prior to the war, individual railways were endeavouring to engender a desire to see India in the people of India who could afford to travel. Many excursion specials were run and, on some railways, student specials were organized by railways with the assistance of professors of colleges who lectured to the students on the places of archaeological interest visited.

3. Tourist traffic to India from other countries also was encouraged and Indian Railways had Travel Bureaux in England and America.

4. You will appreciate from the above very brief comment, that railways, so far as they were in a position to do so, were paying attention both to external and internal tourist travel. The note which you have sent me will, I feel sure, enable Railway Publicity Officers to approach the development of tourist traffic from a new and valuable angle. The experience they already have had in developing tourist traffic, added to the ideas which your note encourages, will enable us to get the tourist traffic machinery moving once again and, possibly, with greater effect, as soon as peace conditions permit.

5. The experience of railways in the past has been that many places of interest have had to be omitted from the itineraries owing to lack of accommodation in the vicinity. Considerable capital expenditure would be necessary to provide suitable accommodation and until it is provided, development of tourist traffic in India is likely to be handicapped. There is moreover the matter of communication from railhead to outlying points of interest such as Khajuraho, which

will require attention, and several Departments of Government are concerned in the problem as a whole.

6. I shall be glad if possible to discuss the matter further with you when the opportunity offers during a future visit to Calcutta, and will try to have the matter thoroughly examined by one of the post-war reconstruction committees.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) E. C. BENTHALL.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. G. A. Edgley,
Judge, High Court, Calcutta.

27th November, 1943.

DEAR SIR EDWARD,

Many thanks for your letter of the 18th November on the subject of the development of the tourist traffic. I am so glad that you are interested in the matter and I feel sure that, if the question can be thoroughly examined by one of the post-war reconstruction Committees, it should be possible to have a programme ready to put into operation as soon as peace conditions are restored. As you say, considerable capital expenditure would be necessary to provide suitable accommodation but, as an interim measure after the war, I think a good deal might be done by providing cold weather camps at suitable places, which might be linked up with the railhead by properly organized motor services. Some years ago I believe they had an arrangement of this sort for State Guests at Khajuraho. After the war many tents would be available for use at such camps and I suppose it might also be possible to convert a number of military lorries for use as passenger vehicles.

I think you would find that the States would be only too glad to co-operate. I discussed this matter recently with H.H. the Maharaja of Chhatarpur with reference to Khajuraho and both he and his Dewan seemed to be most anxious to encourage tourist traffic in the State. Similar views are also held by Sir Mirza Ismail, who hopes in course of time to establish one of the best hotels in India at Jaipur.

The most important part of the 'capital' for a 'Travellers' Department is already in existence in the form of historic monuments and interesting and beautiful places. What is now required is a scheme on an all-India basis for making these places accessible. The ultimate ideal would be to have some good hotels at a number of carefully selected places where visitors might be expected at all

seasons of the year, and to link these centres with outlying places of interest, where rest-houses or camps might be run for the convenience of visitors, say from October to the end of March.

I realize, of course, that the Railways had made a move in the right direction before the war and I hear that the student specials in particular were becoming very popular. It will, however, be difficult to get the thing going properly unless all the Central and Provincial Departments concerned and the States work together.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) N. G. A. EDGLEY.

The Hon'ble Sir Edward Benthall, Kt.,

Member of Council,

In charge of Communications and Railways,
New Delhi.

We agree with the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Edgley that something should be done after the war to provide reasonable facilities to tourists who are interested in the ancient heritage of India. India is full of many beautiful temples, caves, lakes, mountains, rivers, ancient buildings and historic sites which attract hundreds and thousands of visitors from all parts of the globe. The Government of India ought to open a 'Travellers' Department with branches in many important cities of India. It is the duty of the Archæological Department of the Government of India and the Archæological Departments maintained by the Indian States to help the visitors in every possible way with clever guides, useful guide-books and accommodations. In short, they ought to help the travellers with all possible assistance and advice regarding their tours in India. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Edgley is right in pointing out that a series of good guide-books giving all the important details of the historical places of interest in India should be published by the Travellers' Department. The Memoirs of the Archæological Department seem to be very learned and therefore some popular guide-books to guide the travellers in their tours should be published. Further, the railway authorities ought to arrange for convenient trains so that the travellers do not feel any difficulty in visiting places of historical importance. In our opinion, the tourist traffic ought to engage the attention of the authorities concerned as soon as the war is over.

